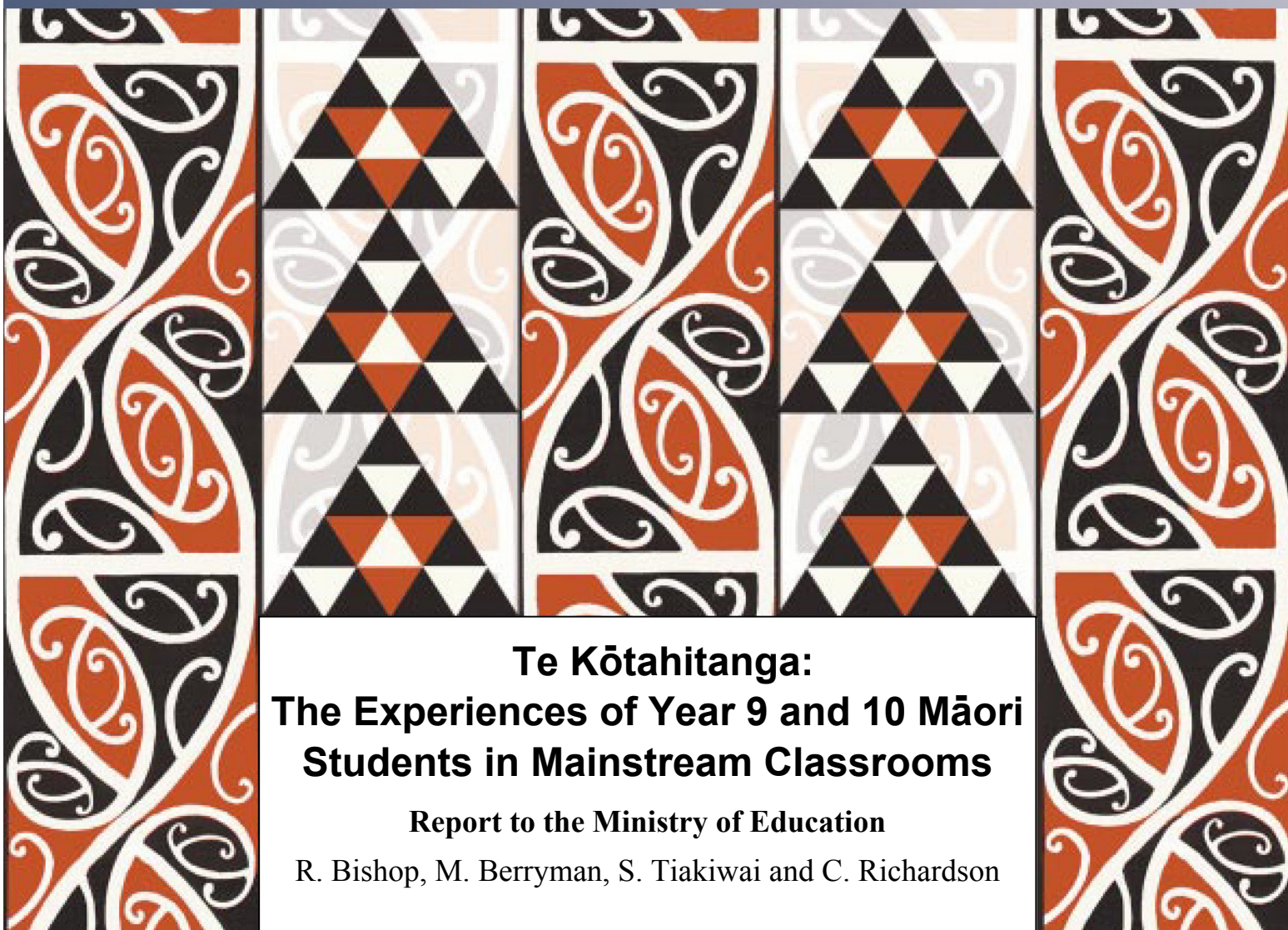




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Ministry of Education

RANGAHAU MĀTAURANGA MĀORI

Māori Education Research



Te Kōtahitanga: The Experiences of Year 9 and 10 Māori Students in Mainstream Classrooms

Report to the Ministry of Education

R. Bishop, M. Berryman, S. Tiakiwai and C. Richardson

MĀTAURANGA MĀORI

WĀHANGA MAHI RANGAHAU

Research Division

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The Experiences of Year 9 and 10 Māori Students in Mainstream Classrooms

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Executive Summary

This research project sought to investigate, by talking with Māori students (and other participants in their education), what was involved in improving their educational achievement. The project commenced with a short scoping exercise that guided the subsequent longer-term project. The longer term project commenced with the gathering of a number of narratives of students' classroom experience by the process of Collaborative Storying from a range of engaged and non-engaged Māori students in four non-structurally modified mainstream schools. It was from these amazing stories that the rest of this project developed. In their narratives the students clearly identified the main influences on their educational achievement and told us how teachers, in changing how they related and interacted with Māori students in their classrooms, could create a context for learning wherein these students' educational achievement could improve.

On the basis of these suggestions from Year 9 and 10 Māori students, the research team developed an Effective Teaching Profile. Together with other information from the literature and narratives of experiences from those parenting the students, their principals and their teachers, this Effective Teaching Profile formed the basis of a professional development intervention, that when implemented with a group of 11 teachers in four schools, was associated with improved learning, behaviour and attendance outcomes for Māori students in the classrooms of those teachers who had been able to participate fully in the professional development intervention.

The Project Team

This project was undertaken by a partnership of researchers from the Māori Education and Research Institute (MERI) in the School of Education at the University of Waikato and the research whānau of Poutama Pounamu Research and Development Centre of Tauranga.

Research Questions

The research asked questions about how a better understanding of Māori student experiences in the classroom and analyses of these experiences might lead to improved policy and teaching and learning that will ultimately result in greater Māori student achievement. It also sought to identify those underlying teacher and school behaviours and attitudes that make a difference to Māori achievement. Overall, the research was concerned with finding out how education in its many forms could make the greatest difference in raising the educational achievement of Māori students.

The project chose to focus on Māori students in Years 9 and 10 because this is the crisis location for students where the statistics on low achievement, retention and suspension problems are at their worst.

Conclusions

The Māori students, those parenting these students and their principals (and some of their teachers) saw that the most important influence on Māori students' educational achievement was the quality of the in-class face-to-face relationships and interactions between the teachers and Māori students. In

contrast, the majority of teachers suggested that the major influence on Māori students' educational achievement was the children themselves and/or their family/whānau circumstances, or systemic/structural issues.

This deficit theorising by teachers is the major impediment to Māori students' educational achievement for it results in teachers having low expectations of Māori students. This in turn creates a downward spiralling, self-fulfilling prophecy of Māori student achievement and failure.

This study has shown that the key to improving Māori students' achievement is professional development that places teachers in non-confrontational situations where, by means of authentic yet vicarious experiences, they can critically reflect upon their own theorising and the impact such theorising has upon Māori students' educational achievement. In addition, the professional development must provide situations where teachers are shown and are able to practice in an on-going supportive manner, strategies that will change classroom interactions.

When teacher-student relationship and interaction patterns have changed as a result of a process of fully supported professional development (initiation, marae training and in-class observation and support) as interventions, a number of changes occur in Māori students behaviour in association with the professional development. These changes include: Māori students' on-task engagement increases, their absenteeism reduces, their work completion increases, the cognitive levels of the classroom lessons are able to increase, and their short-term achievements increase; in many cases, dramatically so.

The research also indicates that when classroom relationships and interactions are attended to, and Māori students are achieving at an appropriate level along with their non-Māori peers, structural issues that support these interventions should be implemented. In addition parents, whānau and community can then be brought into supporting a successful enterprise. Currently relationships between mainstream secondary schools and those parenting Māori students are at a standoff, exacerbated by discourses of blame and guilt. Changing failure to success in the classroom is the key to addressing structural issues as well as home and school relations.

The outcomes of this study adds to other research, national and international, on what constitutes essential approaches to effectively teaching students from indigenous communities. These include the need for teachers to challenge their own deficit theorising, and its impact on Māori students' educational achievement as well as changing their performance in their classrooms.

Chapter 1: The Research Project

Introduction¹

In 2002, the Ministry of Education (Research Division) funded this research project to investigate how Māori students experience the varying influences there are on their educational achievement and how they might see ways of improving their educational achievement. The project was divided into two parts. The first part was a scoping exercise, completed in 2001 and the second part was the long-term research project, which in turn consisted of three phases:

- a) Phase 1: the construction of a series of narratives of experience, and their analysis.
- b) Phase 2: the development of a professional development model to implement change in classroom relationships and interactions.²
- c) Phase 3: the measurement of changes in student achievement.

By authorising Māori students' educational experiences, the project sought to identify how a number of influences on Māori students' achievement, some of which have currently been identified, are played out in the lives of Māori students. Those which have been identified so far include; home-school relationships, pedagogy, teachers' expectations, teachers' experiences and skill, schools (climate, environment, leadership), peer effects, classroom/group dynamics, transition (from intermediate or full-primary, to secondary school), mentors, whānau support and socio-economic factors.

The key focus of this overall project was not necessarily one of revisiting these influences as such, but rather seeking to investigate questions that flow from these accounts such as *how are these factors (and others not listed) experienced by the students? And how do these factors manifest themselves and play a part in what happens in the classroom?* And how might an understanding of the dynamic nature of these influences indicate solutions to the problems facing Māori students in mainstream classrooms.

The research approach then, in authorising students' voices through identifying students' understanding of their classroom experiences, used these understandings as the basis for developing an intervention strategy in the form of a professional development model for in-class reform and then sought data to identify if and how Māori students' educational achievement had improved as a result of this intervention.

The research sought to address such broad questions as:

- How can a better understanding of student experiences in the classroom, and the analysis of these experiences, lead to improved policy and teaching and learning, which will ultimately result in greater achievement?

¹ Much of the argument in this chapter has previously been published in Bishop & Glynn, (1999) and Bishop et al (2001b).

² This phase of the project was funded by a separate allocation from the Research Division of the Ministry of Education.

- What underlying teacher, school behaviour and attitudes make a difference to Māori achievement?
- How can education, in its many forms (teachers, schools, the system itself) and the many influences at play, make the greatest difference in raising the educational achievement of Māori students?

STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This report is structured into eight chapters.

Chapter 1: Review of the literature: The report commences with a review of the relevant literature in the form of an argument for the particular approach we have taken in this project.

Chapter 2: The Scoping Exercise: This chapter provides an overview of the major findings of the scoping exercise that was conducted in mid 2001, prior to the long term project commencing. The rest of the chapters report on the development of the longer-term project and its outcomes.

Chapter 3: Analysis of the Narratives: The long-term project commenced with the production of a series of detailed narratives of experience of Māori students, those parenting the students, their principals and their teachers from four schools. The third chapter presents a detailed analysis in both frequency and thematic modes of the narratives of experience. In particular, the analysis of the students' (and those parenting the students) narratives provided the basis for the development of the effective teaching profile.

Chapter 4: The Effective Teaching Profile: This chapter explains that effective teachers of Māori students develop a culturally appropriate and responsive context for learning in their classrooms. In so doing they demonstrate their understandings in a number of observable ways.

Chapter 5: Professional Development model: This chapter details how the professional development intervention was developed and later implemented initially at Te Kotahitanga Marae and subsequently within the volunteer teachers' classrooms.

Chapter 6: Results: This chapter presents seven outcomes of the intervention. These include: increases in teacher-student interaction; increases in proximity of teachers to students; increases in cognitive level of class; increases in student academic engagement; increases in student work completion; increases in, or maintenance of, high levels of student attendance; increases in student short-term achievement.

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Implications

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH

During this research project, Kaupapa Māori research was used to address the research relationships in terms of issues of power; initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability. This framework both provides the conceptual basis for the development of the research methods for the project and for the evaluation of the data gathered during this project.

Fundamental to this approach to research is the implementation of the researchers' and their institutions' commitments to the Treaty of Waitangi. In this sense, the research seeks to operationalise the guarantees made to Māori people and indeed all New Zealanders that:

- research would be conducted within partnership/power-sharing modes of decision making (Article One),
- Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices will guide the research (Article Two) and
- all participants should contribute to the betterment of young Māori people in our schools (Article Three).

See Appendix A for a more detailed explanation of this approach.

The Problem

Despite the provision of alternative Māori medium education settings in New Zealand, over ninety percent (Ministry of Education, 2001a, 2002) of Māori students in the 12 – 15 age group attend mainstream English-medium schools. In comparison to majority culture students (in New Zealand these students are primarily of European descent), the overall academic achievement levels of these Māori students is low, their rate of suspension from school is three times that of non-Māori and they tend to leave school with less formal qualifications than do their non-Māori peers, (38% compared to 19% respectively) (Ministry of Education, 2001b).

There has been little movement in these disparities since they were first identified statistically over forty years ago (Hunn, 1960). However evidence has emerged over the past two years that:

“there have been some positive contributions to improving Māori achievement. These include the development of New Zealand based evidence that the relationship between learning success and socio-economic background is not immutable and that learning improvement can be effected in a relatively short time”. Ministry of Education (2001)

DEFICIT THEORISING

What precludes significant advancement being made in New Zealand, in attempts to address Māori educational achievement in mainstream institutions, including classrooms, is that many current educational policies and practices, as in most western countries, were developed and continue to be developed within a pattern of power imbalances. These power imbalances favour cultural deficit explanations (victim blaming) of Māori students’ educational performance that perpetuates the ongoing colonising project of pathologising the lives of these students, and maintains the power over what constitutes appropriate classroom interactions in the hands of teachers without any reference to the culture of Māori students.

This pattern of power imbalances is one of dominance and subordination and has developed as the result of the heritage of colonial dominance in this country. The string of unsuccessful attempts that have been made to mediate this relationship, Assimilation, Integration, Multiculturalism and Biculturalism, only further illustrates the impact of the ideology of cultural superiority, fundamental to colonialism, on the indigenous population of New Zealand. The failure of these policies to address the educational achievement of Māori provides a very striking example of the outcomes of on-going subtractive bilingualism and hegemonic domination within a modern nation state. This pattern and its

necrotic³ outcomes also affects other community language groups, especially those able to be identified in Ogbu's (1978) and Ogbu and Simon's (1998) term, "involuntary migrant groups", whose experiences of language loss and cultural marginalisation are the same as Māori (see Holmes, 1990, Fillmore & Meyer, 1992).

To this understanding, cultural deficit explanations and monocultural classroom practices as the manifestations of the pattern of dominance and subordination, that characterises the heritage of colonisation in New Zealand, perpetuates the non-participation of many young Māori people in the benefits that the education system has to offer. Such an explanation stands in contrast to many theories promoted by mainstream theorists. Many of these theorists locate the problems of Māori development and educational achievement with the learners themselves. Among these are the adherents to genetic theories that suggest Māori are inherently, that is, genetically pre-disposed to, for example, psychiatric disorders and thereby are bound to make up more than their fair share of mental institution inmates and by extrapolation, to suffer greater schooling problems. A recent study by Johnstone and Read (2000) identified this belief as being the most common among experienced Pakeha male psychiatrists. Such a belief must have an enormous effect on the interactions between most members of this profession and their clients.

In contrast, in education, more commonly theorists tend to identify cultural deficiency explanations for the non-participation of Māori in education. For example, a very influential piece of research, conducted by Lovegrove in 1966, concluded that Māori problems at school were more to do with "the generally deprived nature of the Māori home conditions than to inherent intellectual inferiority" (p.31). Harker and Nash (1990) refined this analysis by suggesting that it was in fact limited literacy resources in Māori homes that meant Māori children were not adequately prepared for the "scholastic necessary" of the modern classroom. Nicholson (2000) continues this line of theorising by conflating socio-economic status with culture and suggesting that children from lower socio-economic homes are linguistically disadvantaged as soon as they enter school. Nash (1993) (supported by Chapple, Jefferies & Walker, 1997) concludes that "family resources both material and cultural, are the big transmission mechanisms of educational disadvantage rather than the structure of the education system" (p.124).

These theories collectively can be labelled "deficit theories" in that they blame the victims and collectively see the locus of the problem as either lack of inherent ability, lack of cultural appropriateness or limited resources; in short, some deficiency at best, a "pathology" at worst. The general pattern of the solutions that they propose suggests that the "victims" need to change, usually to become more like the proponents of the theories. Further, these are cul-de-sac theories, in that they do not offer any way out that is acceptable to Māori people.⁴

In contrast, another group of researchers in New Zealand and Australia, in attempting to address the problems of educational achievement in schools (and by implication, the problems of educational disparities facing Māori students), suggest that it is neither the cultural deficiencies of the student and

³ Death inducing.

⁴ Māori theorists tend to reject these theories as being reductionist in that they ignore Māori aspirations for the education of their children and also that they ignore the inherent power imbalances within the education system. However, theorists, who are not connected or accountable to Māori, identify Māori problems and make suggestions for Māori children as though they were somehow objects of experimentation.

their home, nor the structure of the education system that should be the primary focus of educational reform efforts. These researchers, while not specifically addressing Māori students, emphasise that it is teachers' classroom performance that has the most impact on students' learning and that should be the focus of change.

Hattie's (1999) reporting on his collection, over 10 years, of some 337 meta-analyses covering "almost all methods of innovation" (p.4), demonstrates that "it is teachers that make the difference...it is clear that the structural and social influences are minor, what the student brings in terms of achievement and disposition to learn are powerful, [and the] teaching process is paramount... this must lead to the conclusion [that] teachers make the difference, but only teachers who teach in certain ways" (p.10).

Lingard's (2002) longitudinal study of some 3000 students and 491 teachers between 1998 and 2002 showed that a "teacher's classroom performance had the most impact on students' learning" (New Zealand Educational Review, 2002, p.3).

Lingard (2002), Mitchell, Cameron and Wylie (2002), and Hattie (2002), reporting at a recent conference in New Zealand (New Zealand Educational Review, 2002), also emphasised the need for teachers to lift their expectations of student achievement and to make learning more challenging for their students. In addition they identified that teachers needed to engage in professional development that focussed on how to relate and connect to students from different cultures.

However, none of these analyses addresses the need for teachers to address their own cultural deficit theorising and those of others, nor the overall issues of power imbalances and how they themselves might participate in the systematic marginalisation of Māori students in their own classrooms. To Māori theorists (Bishop, 1996; Smith, 1997), it is clear that unless teachers engage in considerations of how dominance manifests itself in the lives of Māori students (and their whānau), how the dominant culture maintains control over the various aspects of education, and the part they themselves might play in perpetuating this pattern of domination, albeit unwittingly, they will not understand how they and the way they relate to and interact with Māori students may well affect learning. Therefore, the professional development called for by the researchers above should not consist of ways of "relating to" and "connecting with" students of other cultures without there being a means whereby teachers can understand, internalise and work towards changing the power imbalances of which they are a part. In particular, those power imbalances that are manifested as cultural deficit theorising and support the retention of traditional classroom patterns.

TRADITIONAL AND DISCURSIVE CLASSROOMS

Teachers remain dominant in classrooms mainly by creating a teaching context of their own design, by constructing what Australian educationalist Robert Young (1991) terms the traditional method classroom as a learning context for children.

The [traditional] method [classroom] is one in which teachers objectify learners and reify knowledge, drawing on a body of objectifying knowledge and pedagogy constructed by the behavioural sciences for the former and empiricist and related understandings of knowledge for the latter. (p.78)

Young (1991) contends that it is the context created in such classrooms by teachers that allows them to maintain power over such issues as who initiates learning, who will benefit from the education, whose world views will be represented and with what authority and to whom are they accountable (after Bishop, 1996). Walker (1973) identified as early as the 1970's that it was such power imbalances that impacted upon Māori children's learning, rather than just the monocultural status of teachers. Such realisations further challenge the notion of teachers addressing their own cultural learning in place of their addressing power relationships and interactions and the part they play in these relationships. These realisations also challenge the idea of providing teachers with more techniques to teach students as a means of addressing educational disparities rather than their initially addressing power imbalances.

To Young (1991), in the traditional classroom, teachers see their function as to "cover" the set curriculum, to achieve sufficient "control" to make pupils do this, and to ensure that pupils achieve a sufficient level of "mastery" of the set curriculum as revealed by evaluation" (p.79). The learning context these teachers create aims to promote these outcomes. In these classrooms it is teachers who are "active" and who do most of the "official" talk (classroom language). Technical mastery of this language and the language of the curriculum (which is generally one and the same thing) are pre-requisites for pupil participation with the official "knowledge" of the classroom, a process determined by the teacher having complete control over what constitutes official and legitimate knowledge in the classroom.

Therefore, the learning context that is created in traditional classrooms is such that there is a distinct power difference between teacher and learner which, as Smith (1997, p.178) suggests, may be reinforced ideologically and spatially. Ideologically, in that the teacher is seen as the "font of all knowledge"; the pupils, in Locke's terms, the "tabula rasa", the empty slate; where the teacher is the "neutral" and objective arbiter and transmitter of knowledge. Knowledge however, is selected by the teacher, guided by curriculum documents and possibly texts that are created from within and by the dominant discourse (see Apple, 1986). Far from being neutral, these documents actively reproduce the cultural and social hegemony of the dominant groups at the expense of marginalised groups. The spatial manifestation of difference can be seen in "the furniture arrangements within the classroom, in the organisation of staff meetings, and by holding assemblies with teachers sitting on the stage and so forth" (Smith, 1997, p.179). Children who are unable or who do not want to participate in this pattern are marginalised and fail. Teachers will then explain the children's lack of participation in terms of pupil inabilities, disabilities, dysfunctions or deficiencies, rarely considering that it may well be the very structure of the classroom that militates against the creation of a relationship that will promote satisfactory participation by pupils.

Supportive of this pattern of curriculum and pedagogic dominance are stories created by researchers and teachers about the needs of children. These needs are often stated positively in terms of the need to promote self-esteem, but more often are stated conversely in terms either of intellectual deficiencies, cultural deficiencies, behaviour disorders or a combination of these as reasons for non-participation. These understandings of students' needs beyond the curriculum have more to do with suppositions about developmental needs of children created as part of the dominant monocultural discourse, than about the cultural realities of the child's life and the power relationship that is created when teachers accept or participate in these stories about inadequacy. This is sharply highlighted in the traditional paradigm of Special Education within which Māori students' "low achievement" is

attributed to disability conditions, neurological damage, and dysfunction or to deficiencies in their families or their ethnic groups (Moore et al, 1999).

The type of context that is created in the classroom as a result of a traditional approach to learning has major implications for the motivational type that is fostered there. As Young (1991) suggests:

[t]eachers in general report that the problem of interesting the pupils is the greatest educational problems that they face after they have made some headway with the problem of control, which is the number one problem in the first few years of teaching. (p.79)

Teachers then attempt to address the problem of motivating pupils by looking for new “pedagogical tricks to capture the children’s interest...” (p.79) and often professional developers answer this call by providing new pedagogical techniques, albeit in a top-down impositional manner that few teachers learn much from (Bishop et al, 2001b). However, by that time, most classrooms have become what Young (1991) terms traditional “method classrooms” where the teacher is dominant, where “transmission” is the main aim and “control” relationships have become the dominant pattern. Unfortunately for the well-meaning teacher, the problems of motivation in the classroom are not solvable through a technical fix, but rather through the development of new relationships of power with consequently different interaction patterns. However, unless the teacher has a means of critically revisiting their own practice they will continue to believe in the story created about children’s inadequacies in terms of deficit theories and this will be where they will focus their attentions. Again, in the context of Special Education, the newer educational ecological paradigm locates students’ achievement within the quality of interactions they experience within their learning environments. This paradigm focuses assessment and intervention on improving the quality of teaching and learning contexts available for children with special needs in their classrooms and schools.

Young (1991) highlights eight problems that are created by the patterns of interactions that are fundamental to teacher domination and imposition in the traditional “transmission” classroom. These problems are created where pupils are forced to respond to reproducing correct forms of answers to fit in with the teacher’s frameworks rather than answering creatively or rationally. These include:

- dominance of decontextualised rote or lower order cognitive processes, as demonstrated in the New Zealand Social Studies Subjects Survey (Dept. of Education, 1987) which, for example, limits Māori (and other) students attaining the higher order goals of understanding and generality,
- expecting rote responding to assist the development of reasoning and problem-solving skills,
- limiting the use of social interaction skills beyond the dyadic, limits the development of the courage required in argument⁵,
- central to all creative rationality is interplay between “the hazy glimpse of the final shape of an argument and the present stage of it”,
- responses by learners become responses to authority, seeking approval, rather than responses that attempt to enhance understanding (as in storying). Learners develop distorted response and

⁵ For example, that which is fundamental to the development of what Harker & Nash (1990) term the power of logical deductive argument.

interaction patterns, seeking to guess what the teacher is thinking, or what will please the teacher or often what will do the opposite⁶,

- being treated as an object on which a pedagogy is practiced by a distanced “other,” a teacher, rather than being treated as another learner who is another partner in inquiry jeopardises “the pupils’ self-evaluation as a rational being (p.88)”
- precluding those who have the most intimate knowledge of a pupil’s learning difficulties, the pupils themselves, from “expressing and exploring those difficulties (p.88)”
- precluding the development of the conditions required for the “consideration of problem solving, namely the chance to reflect on our beliefs and values that interaction on an equal footing with others who see things differently can give us” (p.88).

A classroom educational environment in which students are seen as passive vessels, to whom knowledge is transmitted, requires frequent testing in order to ascertain if the transmission has been successful. Due to the need for extrinsic motivation strategies that such a process creates or relies upon, only a proportion of the student body are able to participate “successfully”. This is the group whom cultural reproduction theorists (e.g. Bordieau, 1977) demonstrate are able to succeed because they have the “cultural capital” necessary for successful participation. Generally this is where the culture of the school matches that of the child.

However, despite having the advantages of common cultural capital, intrinsic motivation of the learner in this type of classroom is rare. Teachers talk of covering the curriculum, teaching the subject and getting good grades for top students. For older students, external exams provide much of the motivation for both parties. Pupils talk of getting good grades but rarely talk about their love of the subject or use terms describing their fascination and interest. Such attitudes are not rewarded or matched or given space; that is, they are not seen as valid outputs, rather as means to an end, the end being the acquisition of knowledge and skills.

Therefore, such an analysis would see the proposals put forward by Hattie (2002), Lingard (2002) and Mitchell, Cameron and Wylie (2002) as necessary conditions only and in themselves not sufficient to bring about change in the educational achievement of Māori students in mainstream classrooms. This analysis suggests that teachers need a means of addressing power imbalances within their practice prior to the introduction of new pedagogic strategies and as a fundamental component of raising teacher expectations. It is therefore suggested that despite their best intentions, these mainstream researchers still do not have sufficient answers to address the educational crisis facing Māori students in mainstream schools.

It is tragic that, despite the best intentions (Simon, 1984) of mainstream educationalists and researchers like those above, the potential for addressing development and educational achievement for Māori and other minority groups from within current mainstream models still remains unrealised. An alternative source of experience is necessary to inform our practices and to reform education so

⁶ An interesting footnote, somewhat central to the argument is how behaviourism became a control mechanism of praises and rewards and controls.

that Māori students may successfully participate in the benefits that the education system has to offer. Māori people's experiences of colonisation, resistance and Kaupapa Māori educational initiatives such as Te Kohanga Reo and Kura Kaupapa Māori (KKM) is one such context and is examined here in the following sections. Māori children's experiences of marginalisation in current mainstream educational institutions is another such context and these experiences are examined later in this chapter and in fact provide the basis for the current research/professional development project that is the subject of this report.

The Solutions

KAUPAPA MĀORI SCHOOLING AND RESEARCH AS MODELS FOR CREATING INTERACTIVE DISCURSIVE CLASSROOMS

This report contends that it is through the reassertion of Māori cultural aspirations, preferences and practices, here termed Kaupapa Māori theory and practice, (after Smith, 1997, and Smith, 1999) that power imbalances will be addressed. This report suggests that the solutions to marginalisation do not lie in the culture that marginalises, rather solutions to issues of power and control; initiation, benefits, representation, legitimisation and accountability (Bishop, 1996, Bishop et al, 2001a) can be addressed in mainstream classrooms by reference to Māori culture in ways that will eventually benefit all students.

Kaupapa Māori theory which builds on experiences in educational settings (Smith, 1997), and research (Bishop, 1996; Smith, 1999), focuses on the centrality of an analysis of power relations and offers an alternative approach to interpersonal and group relationships and interactions than that commonly promoted. This approach, based on Māori aspirations and Treaty of Waitangi guarantees for the revitalisation of Māori language, culture and identity, is part of a wider process of creating new power relationships, based on self-determination of Māori people as partners, in the formation of the modern nation of Aotearoa/New Zealand. In Kaupapa Māori contexts the inter-relationships and interaction patterns that develop draw on Māori cultural aspirations and sense making processes (ways of knowing) rather than on those imposed by another culture. Further, in most cases, these inter-relationships and interactions in Kaupapa Māori contexts are "successful in Māori eyes" (Smith, 1997).

The question is then raised about how new power-sharing relationships and interaction patterns could address Māori aspirations for self-determination in mainstream educational institutions. Elbaz (1981, 1983) has an interesting conceptual device that can aid this analysis. This device demonstrates the relationship between the images that teachers hold (as expressed in the metaphors they use) and the principles and practices they then develop as a result. She suggests that images are the personal mental pictures of how, for example, we see relationships and interaction patterns and that these images are often expressed in metaphor.

Metaphor in this sense is not merely an analogy, a likeness between things but rather a deeply creative act, an act that gives rise to our assumptions about how reality fits together, and how we know (Heshusius, 1996, p.4). Heshusius goes on to explain that as "[w]e make sense out of reality and construct reality, (and) people's lives, their thoughts, actions, and experiences, are generated by metaphorical images, the very vehicle for shaping the content of consciousness" (Heshusius, 1996, p.5).

The principles that are derived from these images are a combination of reflections with purpose that guide the teacher's actions and also explain the basis for the actions. These principles are derived largely from teacher experiences and remain useful as a locus for reflections. From this pattern of principles, teachers develop rules of practice. These are concise, clearly stated prescriptions for action.

This chapter will now consider how we can re-image education to address Māori aspirations for self-determination and what principles and practices we can develop and implement to promote the realisation of this image within mainstream educational institutions.

Images: Kaupapa Māori Schooling Creates Metaphors for Power Sharing

In a detailed study of Māori medium primary schooling, Smith (1992, 1997) builds a picture of culturally effective Māori-medium primary schooling by identifying some of its constituent metaphors and their meaning in these settings.⁷ In this section, these metaphors are extrapolated into mainstream educational settings. Here it is suggested that the pictures/images that are created by using these as constituent metaphors develops different modes of theorising and means of addressing educational relationships, in contrast to those based upon the dominant discourse.

Tino Rangatiratanga (Relative Autonomy/ Self-Determination)

This is perhaps the most fundamental issue associated with the whole Kaupapa Māori movement. Māori-medium education institutions at pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary levels have all been established upon this principle. Literally it means chiefly control and increasingly it has taken on its figurative meaning of self-determination, that is the right to determine one's own destiny, to define what that destiny will be and to define and pursue means of attaining that destiny. Bruner (1996) suggests that this type of participation, which is on one's own terms, brings commitment. Applebee (1996) explains that commitment brings learning.

A further implication of this understanding for classroom contexts is that just as parents need to be involved in the decision-making processes of the school, so too do children (Glynn et al, 1997). Involvement in the sense that students take part in the process of decision making about curriculum planning to the extent of participating in a pedagogy of power-sharing over decisions about curriculum content and the directions that learning will take.

Tāonga Tuku Iho (Cultural Aspirations)

Literally meaning the treasures from the ancestors. These messages provide a set of principles by which we should live our lives. However, this phrase nowadays is almost always used in its metaphoric sense as meaning the cultural aspirations Māori people hold for their children and includes those messages that guide our relationships and interaction patterns.

As a metaphor therefore, tāonga tuku iho teaches us to respect the tapu (specialness) of each individual child (McCudden, 1992) and to acknowledge their mana (their potentiality for power), rather than ascribe cultural meanings to the child. Just as manuhiri (visitor) at a hui (meeting) must have their mana and tapu respected in the process of bringing them onto a marae (meeting place), so this image can guide us in our relationships with young people. Above all this message means that Māori

⁷ Te Toi Huarewa (Bishop et al, 2001) researched this picture in action.

language, knowledge, culture and values are normal, valid and legitimate, indeed are a valid guide to classroom interactions. The implications of this principle for other educational contexts is that we need to create contexts where to be Māori is to be normal; where Māori cultural identities are valued, valid and legitimate. In other words where Māori children can be themselves.

There is however, a danger in stereotyping Māori students if teachers deny students' self-determination. Instead of subscribing to dominant perceptions about Māori children, we need to create classroom contexts whereby Māori students can determine their own diverse positionalities in classrooms. This often ignored factor means that images teachers hold of classroom relationships must allow for the many realities within which children might live and grow up; urban/rural, tribal/non-tribal, rich/poor, single-parented/dual-parented/extended families. A further dimension that needs consideration is the realisation that individual identities are multi-faceted and multi-generative. Students are no longer, if they ever were, monocultural. Indeed some will have experiences of many cultural settings. Kalantzis and Cope (1999) explain the implications of this realisation, "[just] as there are multiple layers and facets to everyone's identity, so too there are multiple discourses of identity and multiple discourses of recognition to be negotiated" (p.270). Further, Kalantzis and Cope (1999) explain the pedagogic implications of these interaction patterns by suggesting that in order to recognise the diversity of lifestyles and their discursive practices "learning processes need to recruit, rather than attempt to ignore and erase, the different subjectivities students bring to learning" (p.270). In this sense, "[individuals] have at their disposal a complex range of representational resources, never of one culture, but of many cultures in their lived experience, the many layers of their identity and the many dimensions of their being" (p.271).

In short, we need a pedagogy that is holistic, flexible and complex, which will allow children to present their multiplicities and complexities and their individual and collective diversities, rather than a pedagogy that perpetuates teacher images.

Ako (Reciprocal Learning)

Literally meaning to teach and to learn, this term metaphorically emphasises reciprocal learning, where the teacher does not have to be the fountain of all knowledge, but rather a partner in the "conversation" of learning. Teachers and students can take turns as in the metaphor of the conversation when storying and re-storying their realities, either as individual learners or within a group context. Reciprocal learning also promotes a learning of knowledge-in-action as related to the traditions of the various cultural elements being taught. One implication of this principle is that active learning approaches are preferred because in this way the processes of knowledge-in-action can be brought to the interaction, indeed for the interaction. This means that students can participate, using sense-making processes they bring to the relationship, and share these with others, as of right.

Kia Piki Ake I Nga Raruraru O Te Kainga (Mediation of Socio-Economic and Home Difficulties)

Participation in Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori medium primary schools) reaches into Māori homes and brings parents and families into the activities of the school. There are at least two main outcomes of this relationship. The first is that where parents are incorporated into the education of their children on terms they can understand and approve of, children do better at school. This feature also has implications for better and less problematic home to school transitions. In other words, the closer the classroom experiences and the home experiences are for students, then the more likely it will be that

students will be able to participate in the educational experiences designed at the school. This understanding addresses the preferences Māori people have for their problems to be dealt with in culturally familiar ways. Such understandings have major implications for the way schools and teachers deal with peoples of all cultures.

Whānau (Family)

Whānau is a primary concept (a cultural preference) that contains both values (cultural aspirations) and social processes (cultural practices). The implications of this principle are immense for mainstream education. When imaging or theorising classroom interactions in terms of, for example, metaphoric whānau relationships, classroom interactions will be fundamentally different from those created when teachers talk of method and process using machine or transmission metaphors to explain their theorising/imaging. The clear implication for mainstream classroom relationships is that where the establishment of whānau type relationships in the classroom is primary, then a pattern of interactions would develop where commitment and connectedness was paramount, where responsibility for the learning of others was fostered and where the classroom becomes an active location for all learners to participate in decision making processes through the process of collaborative storying termed *spiral discourse* (Bishop, 1996).

Kaupapa (Collective Vision, Philosophy)

The collectivist philosophy of achieving excellence in both languages and cultures that make up the world of Māori children is central to Māori-medium schooling. In addition, the experiences of the Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori medium primary schools) movement demonstrates that students achieve better when there is a close relationship between home and school in terms of aspirations, languages and cultures. These understandings can be extrapolated to mainstream learning environments to suggest the need to develop a common set of goals and principles and practices, which seek to ensure that all children will benefit from education.

Summary

This analysis of Kaupapa Māori educational settings creates an image for mainstream educational institutions of an educational setting where students are able to participate on their own terms; terms that are determined by the student because the very pedagogic process holds this as a central value. Further, the terms are to be culturally determined in terms of promoting the primacy of the sense-making processes (cultures) of the learners. Learning is to be reciprocal and interactive, home and school learning is to be inter-related, learners are to be connected to each other and learn with and from each other. Finally, a common set of goals and principles should guide the process.

KAUPAPA MĀORI EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AS A MODEL FOR POWER SHARING

Metaphors from another Kaupapa Māori education setting, this time research, are also useful to suggest ways of developing mainstream educational settings wherein Māori students can participate successfully. In a meta-study of five research projects conducted within Māori settings (Bishop, 1996), it was shown that by using Māori metaphors for research, researchers were repositioned from the discursive space traditionally occupied by researchers into Māori sense-making contexts. In this way, using new metaphors for pedagogy could reposition teachers into contexts where learners could bring

their sense-making processes to bear. In these contexts, learners' experiences, representations of these experiences and sense-making processes may be legitimated.

Whakawhanaungatanga as Research: Implications for Pedagogy

In Bishop (1996, 1998a, 1998b), whakawhanaungatanga (the process of establishing relationships in a Māori context) was used metaphorically as a research strategy to address concerns about research initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability being created by the imposition of the researcher's agenda, concerns and interests on the research process. This approach was also connected with the Treaty of Waitangi, the foundation document of New Zealand, through giving voice to a culturally positioned means of collaboratively constructing research stories in a culturally conscious and connected manner. Within the domain of Kaupapa Māori, the central theme of whakawhanaungatanga focuses on the researcher's (and by implication the teacher's) connectedness, engagement, and involvement with others in order to promote self-determination, agency and voice.

There are three major and inter-related factors in employing the metaphor of whakawhanaungatanga as a research strategy. These three factors can also indicate how classroom interactions might be different, given a different mode of consciousness.

The first factor is that establishing and maintaining whānau (literally an extended family) type relationships is a fundamental, often extensive and ongoing part of the research process. This involves the establishment of 'whānau of interest' (metaphoric whānau) through a process of "spiral discourse". This means establishing a whānau like relationship among the research group and using collaborative storying and restorying (spiral discourse) as a means of creating a collective response. In establishing whānau relationships in the classroom, such settings would be seen as an active location for all learners, and this includes the teachers, to participate in the decision making processes through the process of spiral discourse. Whānau processes may also be used, literally or metaphorically, to give substance to a culturally positioned and understood means of collaboratively constructing learning objectives, as opposed to pre-determined learning objectives and thereby developing a commitment in learners and teachers to these objectives in a culturally conscious and connected manner.

The second factor of whakawhanaungatanga as a research process is that researchers understand themselves to be involved somatically in the research process; that is physically, ethically, morally and spiritually and not just as a "researcher" concerned with methodology. Such positionings are typically demonstrated in the language/metaphor used by successful and effective researchers. Similarly, in the classroom context, teachers' involvement with their students would be characterised by trust, connectedness and commitment. Ladson-Billings's (1995) study established how significant commitment and participation was among successful teachers of Black American children.

The third research factor is that establishing relationships in a Māori context addresses the power and control issues fundamental to research, through participatory research practices (in this context, termed "Participant Driven" research) in a manner that facilitates the sharing of power and control. The implication of this factor for classroom interactions is that there needs to be established a means of power sharing.

Principles: Kaupapa Māori Messages for Mainstream Institutions

What sorts of educational principles would such images suggest?

Here it is suggested that from these two pictures of Kaupapa Māori schooling and research (Bishop, 1996; Smith, 1997) we can derive a set of principles to guide the construction of practices that will address the five issues of power: initiation, benefits, representation, legitimacy, accountability (IBRLA).

We must attempt to create learning relationships within classrooms wherein learners' culturally generated sense-making processes are used and developed in order that they may successfully participate in classrooms interactions. Such relationships must promote the knowledges, learning styles and sense-making processes of the learners as "acceptable" or "legitimate". Teachers should interact with students in such a way that new knowledge is co-created. In this way, learners are able to be co-inquirers, interact and exchange notes and take part in the whole process of learning from goal setting to assessment and evaluation. Learning is to be seen as active, close to real-life, problem-based, integrated, critically reflective, creative, and life-long. Teachers seek to create socio-cultural contexts wherein learning takes place actively, reflectively and where learners can not only use a variety of learning styles, but also have the power to determine which learning styles they need to use. In other words, creating contexts where they can safely bring what they know and who they are into the learning relationship. Teachers and community interact and home and school aspirations are complementary. Further, where what students know, who they are and how they know what they know, forms the foundations of interaction patterns in the classroom. In short, where *culture counts*. Such a position stands in contrast to traditional positions where knowledge is determined by the teacher and children are required to leave who they are at the door of the classroom or at the school gate.

Practices: Means of Implementation

The question then remains; how do we develop a set of practices that will implement such images and principles in mainstream classrooms and create what Young (1991) terms a discursive classroom? Here it is suggested how narrative pedagogies, problem focussed methodologies, co-operative learning strategies and integrated curriculum can be used to implement such practices.

Narrative Pedagogy

Narrative pedagogies provide one means of creating power sharing relationships in classrooms. Narrative pedagogies are based on the notion that people lead storied lives and that it is the process of storying and re-storying we term learning. Rather than learning being seen as a gathering of knowledge from other people, or the learner being a recipient of transmitted knowledge, narrative pedagogies mean that we see learning as the outcome of interactions between individuals and/or groups, teachers/pupils, individuals and groups and text/resources and so on. Such an approach to learning addresses self-determination of the learner in that such practices recognise "that each learner has to construct an understanding for her or himself, using both incoming stimuli and existing knowledge" (Cowie & Bell, 1999, p.4). This means that both students' existing knowledges and sense-making processes are central to the pedagogic process and influence the learning outcomes. Thus, in a culturally diverse classroom, there are a great variety of possible interactive relationships. Such practices operationalise principles that seek to promote an active, learner-centred education, where

learning is problem-based and integrated, and where an holistic approach to curriculum is fundamental to the practices developed.

Carol Lauritzen and Michael Jaeger (1997) in a book entitled, *Integrating Learning Through the Narrative Curriculum*, use narrative pedagogy as a practice for co-constructing curriculum. They suggest that this approach will allow children of culturally diverse backgrounds to participate in learning by bringing their own sense-making processes to bear on stories. Lauritzen and Jaeger (1997) suggest that a rich compelling story with a universal theme is an ideal medium for containing and organising the curriculum so as to address the diversity of learners in modern classrooms. Their approach is one that actively acknowledges diversity and identifies how cultural diversity may indeed be central to curriculum development. They maintain that “each learner, regardless of gender, ethnicity, regional orientation, developmental need, or prior knowledge has the opportunity to act within the narrative curriculum and make sense of the universal themes embodied in story” (p.25).

In this approach, Lauritzen and Jaeger (1997) suggest learners are empowered/facilitated through stories to grow from their own prior knowledge to new understandings appropriate to their own experiences. Further, such an approach allows students to co-construct curriculum content through negotiation between themselves and their teachers. In this way, students and teachers learn to negotiate ways and means of developing strategies for investigation and exploration, as well as ways of interpreting and representing their findings. In classrooms employing narrative storying, learners do not all have to arrive at the same point or understanding and a diversity of learning styles and approaches are always admissible.

This approach is a prime example of a powerful and inclusive teaching and learning strategy. Such strategies are vital components of a pedagogy designed to: (a) maximise participation by all students (irrespective of cultural or academic and social diversity) and (b) minimise the exclusion of students from classrooms or schools, on the grounds that they are lacking in “pre-requisite” knowledge, understanding or achievement for participating in learning activities.

Lauritzen and Jaeger (1997) explain the process of story and re-storying that takes place within a unit of work as being based on notions of active participation by learners in the construction of knowledge rather than their being passive recipients of knowledge-out-of-context. In this constructivist approach, learners are seen as coming to an educational experience with a wealth of information and experience and it is “in the interaction of this prior knowledge and current experiences that learning takes place” (p.55). Prior knowledge forms the foundation, the stepping stone, the bridge to further conceptual developments. New ideas are incorporated by being linked to prior knowledges. Hence the importance of creating learning contexts where students’ prior knowledge is welcome and indeed essential. Such notions explain why children who are not socialised into the culture of the teacher in the traditional classroom are unable to learn in these classrooms. Any places they have to position the new ideas, or any ‘hooks’ or ‘linkages’ to their family and cultural experiences are neither recognised nor validated in the classroom. Narrative pedagogy is an educational practice that draws together the experiences of the home and schooling in such a way that culturally connects.

The notion of storying and re-storying also provides us with a clear means of seeing knowledge not as finite, static and complete, but constantly in a process of re-formation; as an organic process of invention rather than a process of passive accumulation through the receipt of transmissions. Learning

takes place through continual reflection on past knowledge and the resolution of cognitive conflicts and in this way builds on earlier, incomplete levels of thinking. Narrative pedagogy in this sense is therefore a means of creating interaction patterns that position teachers and students within co-joint reflections on shared experiences (the narrative as stimulus) and co-joint constructions of meanings about these experiences (narratives as meaning constructions). From this interaction, the stories of the classroom participants merge to create new stories and understandings. Fundamental to this interaction pattern is the relationship created on the basis of self-determination of each of the parties. In this relationship the pedagogies are not used as a means of control but rather as a location where the learner can control his/her destiny with the help of a teacher as co-learner.

A further benefit from this approach is that such interactions are located within what Vygotsky (1978) terms the “zone of proximal development”. That area being the area of development between what the student can do alone and what they could achieve with assistance. Applebee (1996) explains that as when learning knowledge-in-action we must do what we do not yet know how to do. Learning what we do not yet know is therefore a social process, not an accumulation of social products determined by others. We learn to do things by doing them with others. To Vygotsky (1978) such a process of learning therefore allows learners to bring themselves into the interaction; their experiences, their knowledges and aspirations and above all, their variety of sense-making and meaning-constructing processes which will come from and be part of the cultures in which they participate.

Narrative pedagogy, in allowing the student to create meaning through using their own sense-making processes within a socially interactive context, addresses the concern for allowing the cultures of the child to enter the classroom. This interaction will necessarily take place within the cultural world views and discursive practices within which the learner functions. Such an approach requires the teacher to be attentive to the variety of explanations learners will create. Being silent, waiting, being attentive as in a state of abeyance are all means whereby the teacher does not swamp the conversation. Young (1991) reports that in most modern classrooms, the teachers are the active participants, often questioning, probing and constantly talking, giving students little time to reflect and consider what has been said previously. In the narrative approach to classroom conversations, the initiative is with the learner. In this way, the story the learner creates gains precedence and sets the pattern of subsequent interactions which take the form of a re-telling of this story by those who are experiencing the story. Rather than an adversarial and thereby exclusive interaction, the interaction is cumulative (spirals) and inclusive, in short, a spiral discourse. Meanings are contextually grounded and shift as the discourse is shaped by the participants in the conversation. Such an approach does not suggest that the teacher be mute, but rather needs to be a skilled listener and commentator rather than a skilled transmitter of subject matter. However, this is not a matter of the teacher being solely an adjudicator, ignorant of subject matter. The teacher still needs to be able to guide students in their searches for content or find others from other cultural experiences who can assist.

The concept used by narrative therapists of “not knowing” is a useful tool that teachers could use. Not knowing just what the not-yet-said consists of is a powerful strategy and provides an impetus for other participants in the conversation to speculate, elaborate, guess, infer or question; all higher level thinking skills so difficult to develop in traditional transmission classrooms, yet vital for further learning. The promotion of a position where learners can question must surely be our ultimate goal, particularly if they can raise questions from a position of being safe in that their cultural integrity and identity is supported, that is, that they themselves are acceptable. How often do we hear of strategies

where student questioning is the goal, yet where practitioners proceed with a series of teacher (or textbook) generated questions. We tend to agree nowadays that it is more important that a student learns to answer their own questions rather than those in a textbook. Then why do students spend so much time on the latter activity, if it is the former that they really need to practice?

Narrative pedagogy is therefore an approach in which young people are able to recollect, reflect and make sense of their experiences from within their own cultural context and preferably in their own language. In such ways their interpretations and analyses become “normal” and “accepted” as opposed to those of the teacher who takes a “curious”, “not-knowing”, “wait and see” position. Further, alternative ways of knowing sets the pattern for subsequent interactions where the participants engage in an interactive, complex, holistic approach to pedagogic interactions. This involves mutual telling and retelling of stories by people who are living those stories. The major implication for teachers is that they should be able to participate in the sense-making contexts of the students rather than simply expecting the students to engage with theirs, as is so often the case.

Problem-Based Active Methodology

Fundamental to narrative pedagogies is the notion of problems being central to inquiry. Here it is suggested that problems that are significant in the lives of the learners can be brought to the process of meaning identification and the construction of new meanings. Indeed, such a pedagogy actively engages the learner in identifying and classifying the problem, in seeking resolutions and in assessing and evaluating what difference participation in the activity has made for the learner.

It is important to emphasise this wider meaning of the term “active”. Being “active” does not just mean learners moving bodily through space, but rather moving toward sharing the power of talk, and participating in a process of conversation and reflection. This stands in contrast to many current classroom practices where the teacher is generally the supplier of active curriculum content (i.e. knowledge), and is also the designer and controller of the discourse.

Problem-based learning places the learner at the centre of the learning process and aims to integrate learning with practice (Alavi, 1995, in Howell, 1997). It is a way of constructing and teaching courses using problems as the stimulus and focus of student activity (Boud & Feletti, 1991, in Howell, 1997). Students are required to find out, bring or generate important knowledge in the process of tackling problematic situations. Problem-based learning also involves continuous evaluation through peer support and critique, self-reflection by the teacher and the learner. Self-direction, cooperative learning, collaboration and reflection are core elements of a problem-based, narrative pedagogy that characterises fully inclusive classrooms.

The tendency of problem-based learning approaches to “spill out” of the classroom, requiring students to seek help and guidance from others, enables students to understand how their work is relevant to the wider world. Conversely, this real world contact ensures that what is taught at school is understandable to the wider community, mediating the tendency of many “new” curricula to become foreign to parents for example. A further benefit is that research by McNaughton and Glynn (1998) and others and Kaupapa Māori practice shows clearly that where parents are engaged and involved in the education of their children, children achieve better at school. However, problem-based learning on its own is not sufficient to ensure this engagement.

Rather it is a necessary condition in the matrix that constitutes and facilitates improved achievement for children from non-dominant cultural groups, by creating a context whereby linkages between the knowledge of the children's home and family and their schooling is valued and legitimated as a part of the formal schooling process. Assessment proceedings with a problem-based learning approach are similarly understandable, predictable and matter of fact, not something divorced from the flow of learning for the benefit of the teacher. In the context of assessment, teaching becomes supportive and dialogic and often consists of interactive feedback to students, rather the exercising of power of pass and fail.

Problem-based learning focuses on real-life situations and real conversations, utilising in the learning context the same skills for coping with a rapidly changing global community and economy. This is preferred to learning rapidly out-dated and out-dating knowledges-out-of-context, the outcome of which is to perpetuate the imbalance in the classroom through continuing the non-involvement of young Māori people in educational interactions. This, in turn, serves to maintain the current structural pattern of dominance and subordination.

Co-operative Learning Strategies

Co-operative learning is a procedure for teaching that is more than 25 years old; many different approaches have been developed during this time. None the less these are common features.

The first is to improve the academic skill of all the team members enabling them to face the world with more confidence and with improved levels of skill... The second purpose is to improve the skills of learning how to get along with each other while completing a task (Brown and Thomson, 2000, p.14).

Evidence for the value of these purposes was provided by Brown in 1992 (cited in Brown & Thomson, 2000), when he showed in a study in two schools that in cooperative secondary classrooms, students valued each other's contributions, depended upon each other for help and showed a willingness to try harder, "even when the going got tough" (Brown & Thomson, 2000, p.17). In addition, Brown and Thompson (2000) identify that cooperative learning approaches assisted students from diverse cultural backgrounds, because as the co-operative strategies were carefully taught by the well-trained teachers, the individual student's role specialisation assisted students to contribute to peer interactions in meaningful ways. Further, cooperative strategies allow Māori preferred practices such as Ako (Pere, 1982) to be recognised and operationalised because students cooperating promotes reciprocity of teaching and learning. In this way cooperative learning is an approach that is ideal for mediating the power over classroom interactions being totally in the hands of the teacher.

Overall, there have been numerous research studies (some 400+) into the usefulness of cooperative learning and they show that "academic gains are greater when compared to competitive or individual goal structures" (Brown & Thomson, 2000, p.23).

Curriculum Integration

Naturally following from a problem-based, co-operative learning focus is the notion of curriculum integration. This approach is not new. Indeed, it is one of the approaches to teaching and learning that

is encouraged in the New Zealand Curriculum Framework (Ministry of Education, 1993) and the Curriculum Development Update (Ministry of Education, 1997). However, it is an approach that has been somewhat sidelined and misunderstood in the last decade where there has been an increasing focus on subject specialisation. James Beane (1997), a proponent of integrated curriculum approaches, explains that in curriculum integration, “ongoing themes are drawn from life as it is being lived and experienced” (p.xi). In other words, life as it is storied, and re-story(ed). Learning is related to questions and concerns that have personal and social significance. Themes developed in such a manner are a means of promoting and actioning critical inquiry into real-life issues, the pursuit of social action, collaborative teacher – student curriculum planning and above all “opens the way to redefining power relations in the classroom *and* to challenging the idea that important knowledge is only that named and endorsed by academicians and bureaucrats outside the classroom” (p.xi).

In this approach, the curriculum is co-constructed by the questions and concerns collaboratively developed by teachers and students. Knowledge in this sense becomes related to problem solving, and the ongoing process of critical analysis of society so relevant to the Ladson-Billings (1995) study. Beane (1997) sees the idea of planning *with* rather than planning *for* young people as central to curriculum integration, where connecting new experiences to prior ones and “personally contextualising knowledge must sooner or later involve direct participation by young people themselves” (p.50).

Whatever the approach taken to curriculum integration, there needs to be an assurance that curriculum content and pedagogy does not preclude the development of collaborative learning partnerships which respond to the specific cultural needs and interests of the learner. A narrative pedagogy, of the type that Lauritzen and Jaeger (1997) suggest, presupposes that the teacher will be able to facilitate curriculum integration that goes beyond teacher imposed integration models such as *pre-set* themes or topics and allows the integration to arise from the “conversation” about the story. This will in turn reflect the multiple experiences students bring to the classroom from the multiple traditions into which they have and are being socialised. In this sense, curriculum integration allows students to explore interrelationships across all curriculum elements and to use higher thinking skills, so rarely evident in classroom learning. Integrated curricula in turn provide structural support and a meaningful context for the discursive interactions that are fundamental to the narrative pedagogy. This process of “conversation” that is fundamental to narratives as pedagogy is similar to that identified in Kaupapa Māori educational research contexts (Bishop, 1996) where interviews that addressed researcher imposition were constructed as “conversations”. These conversations were sequential, in-depth and semi-structured, in short they created collaborative stories through a process of spiral discourse. The process of storying and re-storying in classroom contexts may also result in collaborative stories being created through the same process.

The notion of sequences is important to develop spiral discourse. Sequences allow participants to revisit the meanings they construct of their learning experiences as they continue the discourse with others and refer to new resource materials. Applebee (1996) explains this process:

As new elements enter the conversation, they provide not only new contexts for exploring or redefining the established topic, but new perspectives on other elements in the conversation, and on the topic itself. (p.77)

The notion of sequencing then, or rather spiralling of the conversation as re-storying, is a process of coming back and reassessing the meaning we have created out of an interaction. Such fluidity may appear to be problematic to teachers, but it is closer to how real life contexts operate, how scientific discoveries are made (for example, see Kuhn, 1970); how children learn according to Vygotsky (1978); and most resembles Applebee's (1996) concept of knowledge-in-action rather than the artificial abstraction of knowledge-out-of-context that is so common in our classrooms.

Conclusions: Kaupapa Māori Messages for Mainstream Schooling

One significant message for mainstream education from this analysis of Kaupapa Māori educational experiences is that new images and their constituent metaphors are needed to inform and guide the development of educational principles and pedagogies if we are to change the educational achievements levels of Māori students in mainstream schools. This chapter has identified just some of the metaphors that are fundamental to Kaupapa Māori educational contexts such as schooling and research, it might well be those metaphors that could help guide the development of new principles and practices that in turn would create power-sharing relationships and classroom interaction patterns within which young Māori people could successfully participate.

Further, the implication of Elbaz's (1981, 1983) model is that a technical approach that focuses simply on changing practices is inadequate in addressing, for example, achievement levels in schooling, because the powerful imagery educators may hold may not necessarily change. Similarly, it is not simply a matter of teachers changing or even critically reflecting on the principles that guide their practice. Rather it is a matter of critically reflecting both on the imagery we hold about the teaching process as well as the metaphors we use to conceptualise this process. Simply put, if the imagery we hold of Māori children or indeed of any children, or of interactions patterns is one of deficits, then our principles and practices will reflect this, and we will thereby perpetuate the educational crisis for Māori children.

On the wider social front, in Aotearoa/New Zealand, for indigenous peoples, teachers have traditionally denied the authenticity of Māori experiences, and voice through control over curriculum and pedagogy by means of control over the dominant images and metaphors. In this manner epistemological racism (Scheurich & Young, 1997) is perpetuated. Māori imagery and aspirations, as expressed in Māori metaphor as well as Māori lived experiences, and the meanings of these experiences, have been marginalised and interpreted by the "authoritative" voice and directions of the "expert" to suit ends other than those desired by Māori peoples themselves. To add insult to injury, everyday "acceptable" myths of Aotearoa/New Zealand have been created and perpetuated by such a process. Sadly today, many of these myths⁸ are believed by Māori and non-Māori alike. Such practices perpetuate the ideology of cultural superiority that is fundamental to colonisation. This ideology precludes the development of power sharing processes, and the legitimisation of diverse cultural epistemologies and cosmologies.

In the classroom context, cultural domination and preconceptions by teachers means that teachers expect students to continually adjust their understanding to that of the teacher. Indeed in many ways this continual adjustment is seen as successful learning and teaching because it "brings out" the

⁸ Such myths include the notion that Māori students are good with their hands, are unable to deal with abstract concepts, must work in groups and put down anyone else who puts their head up above the crowd.

student's knowledge, it works from the "known to the unknown". However, what is not understood is that it is not the teachers who move into the unknown but the students who work in this unknown, which is actually the teachers "known". Where there is a cultural match between teacher and student, such shifting by children is usually accomplished. However, where there is a cultural mismatch then problems arise. In contrast, where a teacher continually adjusts his/her understanding to that of the student's narrative, there is potential for the student's narrative to develop and not to dry up as was identified in Clay (1985) among other studies.

Kaupapa Māori educational experiences have identified that the use of impositional methodologies, whether they be in research contexts or classrooms, means that participants will experience having something done *to* them, rather than *with* them. As a result they will feel left out of the learning interactions and conversations with other participants. To develop and use a strategy that leaves people out of the conversation is to perpetuate a system that is hierarchical, that repeats the pattern of dominance and subordination which has characterised relationships in our country for too long. It denies people legitimate representation and participation as was guaranteed in the Treaty of Waitangi, the foundation document of the modern nation state of New Zealand. Monocultural pedagogies developed in New Zealand on the basis of unchallenged metaphors have dominated classroom practice for too long during the history of schooling in this country.

These pedagogies have been successful for the dominant culture, but are increasingly being tested and rejected by even the most compliant of students. A major message from Kaupapa Māori educational experiences is the need for an approach whereby teachers can engage in "conversations" with all of their students that goes beyond rhetorical questions that already have answers, or pedagogical questions that imply the required direction of the answer. In both these approaches questioning becomes a means of directing children to pre-determined answers. For children from different cultural groups, these pre-determined answers may lie outside of their experiences and often outside of their understanding or ways of knowing. Questioning becomes a process of checking to see if children know what the teacher knows or what the teacher is thinking. Further, paradigm shifting compounds the problem because the dominant discourse reinforces its own narrative cohesiveness in preference to any other cultural narratives. Therefore, in effect, the traditional position of the teacher has been that of the person who determines the shape and scope of what constitutes the classroom narrative, that is the agreed-to-descriptions and explanations of what has been arrived at through classroom interactions. Indigenous peoples, such as the Māori people of Aotearoa/New Zealand are increasingly vocal in their concern about such power and control having traditionally been determined by the imposition of the teacher's agenda, interests and concerns on the pedagogic process.

Kaupapa Māori educational theory, principles and practices suggest new approaches to interpersonal and group interactions that have the potential to move New Zealand educational experiences for many children of diverse cultural backgrounds from negative to positive. Kaupapa Māori practices suggest that where the images and the metaphors we use to express these images are holistic, interactional and focus on power-sharing relationships, the resultant classroom practices and educational experiences for children of other than the dominant group will be entirely different.

MĀORI STUDENTS' EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES AS A MODEL FOR REFORM

Earlier in this chapter it was suggested that Māori students' educational experiences could well provide an alternative source of information upon which to base educational reforms. Such an

approach, that is identifying Māori students' understandings of their classroom and schooling experiences and using these understandings as the basis for reforming educational practice so as to improve the educational achievement of these very students, is unusual, for as Cook-Sather (2002) identifies:

[s]ince the advent of formal education in the United States, both the educational system and that system's every reform have been premised on adults' notions of how education should be conceptualised and practiced. (p.3)

The same could be said of New Zealand. Indeed, very little research has been conducted into students' experiences of schooling apart from Marshall and Peters (1988) and Marshall (1993). These two studies supported Māori initiatives to develop internally assessed oral Māori language assessment and whānau support groups in Northland. Other studies such as those by Nash and Harker (1994) (further reported by Chapple, Jefferies & Walker, 1997), in using a questionnaire to probe students' voices about their school experiences, tended to use the data gathered to explain patterns of achievement rather than support Māori aspirations for improving achievement.

In all, very little has been attempted in the way of questioning the assumption that adults and especially teachers know more about how young people learn and about what they need to learn in preparation for the decades ahead than do the young people themselves (Cook-Sather, 2002 p.5). Yet as Cook-Sather (2002) identifies from a wide ranging review of the literature:

The work of authorising student perspectives is essential because of the various ways that it can improve educational practice, re-inform existing conversations about educational reform, and point to the discussions and reform effects yet to be undertaken. (p.3)

She further identifies from the literature that authorising students' perspectives is a major way of addressing power imbalances in classrooms in order that students' voices can be heard and have legitimacy in the learning setting. Such authorising of students' experiences and understandings:

- can directly improve educational practice because when teachers listen to and learn from students, they can begin to see the world from those students' perspectives (Clarke, 1995; Davies, 1982; Finders, 1997; Heshusius, 1995)
- can help teachers make what they teach more accessible to students (Commeyras, 1995; Dahl, 1995; Davies, 1982; Lincoln, 1995; Johnson & Nicholls, 1995)
- can contribute to the conceptualisation of teaching, learning, and the ways we study them as more collaborative processes (Corbett & Wilson, 1995; Nicholls & Thorkildsen, 1995; Oldfather & Thomas, 1998; Short, 1992)
- [can make students feel] empowered when they are taken seriously and attended to as knowledgeable participants in important conversation (Hudson-Ross, Cleary & Casey, 1993)
- [can motivate students] to participate constructively in their education (Colsant, 1995; Oldfather et al., 1999; Sanon, Baxter, Fortune & Opatow, 2001; Shultz & Cook-Sather, 2001)

In addition, in the New Zealand setting, authorising student perspectives on education has the potential to facilitate the engagement of Māori students with learning on their own culturally constituted terms, that is the creation of a learning context wherein Māori students are able to interact with teachers and

others in ways that they can bring who they are and how they make sense of the world to classroom interactions. Numerous studies also inform us that improving student engagement is a necessary condition for improving educational achievement, in fact improved student on-task engagement is a moderate to good predictor of long-term student achievement. (Fisher et al, 1981; Widdowson, Dixon & Moore, 1996; Bruner, 1996; Applebee, 1996).

Fundamental to this notion of authorising student perspectives is power, a basic concern of Kaupapa Māori research theorists (Bishop, 1996; Smith, 1997; Smith 1999). When power is shared by those (teachers) who currently maintain control and dominance over others (students), then those in powerful positions will better understand the world of the “others”; those “othered” by power differentials will be able to more successfully participate in educational systems.

Chapter 2: The Scoping Exercise

Introduction

This research project consisted of two parts; the scoping exercise which ran from May to late June 2001, and the long-term project which ran from July 2001 to August 2002. This chapter reports the findings of the scoping exercise.

The scoping exercise, which commenced in May 2001, was to provide preliminary information from which the research team could develop a range of models and theories to explain Māori educational achievement levels. From these models and theories the researchers constructed a hypothesis to be tested in the longer term research project.

The scoping exercise involved a detailed examination of a range of literature pertinent to this topic and a series of in-depth interviews with a cross-section of approximately 60 young New Zealand Māori students at junior secondary school level (Years 9 and 10, ages 12-15), within a range of schooling types including state secondary schools, Paerangi boarding schools, wharekura (Māori-medium secondary schools) and a whānau-based centre for early school leavers. Experiences around the transition to secondary schools, that is to Year 9, were also explored. The research focussed on student achievement and in so doing, sought to explore the relative effects of a variety of factors on student achievement as understood by the students themselves. In addition, teacher, principal, parent/caregiver and whānau perspectives were also sought and incorporated.

Four Major Findings of the Scoping Exercise

FIRST MAJOR FINDING

The first major finding of this scoping exercise was that the research participants were well able to articulate and conceptualise their experiences and theorise (offer their own explanations) about these experiences. The participants were able to do this because of the research approach that was used. This research approach is termed “Collaborative Storying” (Bishop, 1996) and is a Kaupapa Māori strategy that seeks to authorise the differing voices of the research participants being heard (see Appendix A for details on how the narratives of experience were developed using the process of Collaborative Storying). The success of this approach is in the quality of the “voice” found in the narratives (see Appendix B for an example of a students’ narrative). It became clear that this research process was appropriate for the longer term research project in that it allowed the voice and theorising of the research participants to be heard. This research approach also allowed the results to be presented in a narrative/collaborative story manner wherein the research participants would themselves legitimate how they are represented. Further, issues such as initiation, benefits and accountability are addressed in this research process in such a manner that the self-determination of the research participants is operationalised. As explained above, the research process used in this exercise is based on a Kaupapa Māori theoretical and methodological approach in that it seeks to operationalise the tino rangatiratanga (self-determination) of the research participants by using a sequence of semi-structured, in-depth interviews as conversations in order to produce narratives of experience (for more detailed examples

see Bishop, 1996, 1998a, 1998b). These narratives are produced in such a manner that the final story is legitimate in the eyes of the research participants.

This approach was seen as being very suitable for the longer term research project for two reasons. The first is that given the centrality and power of teachers to determine outcomes for students, narratives would be very useful to identify the range of discourses that teachers position themselves within because as Elbaz (1981, 1983), Heshusius (1996) and Bishop and Glynn (1999) identify, the theoretical tools and positioned arguments that teachers use to explain to themselves what is happening in their classrooms informs the basis of their own educational beliefs and principles and the pedagogic interactions they initiate and carry out. If, as has been argued by many authors (among them are Bruner, 1996; Applebee, 1997; Bishop & Glynn, 1999), teachers subscribe to deficit arguments, then the principles they espouse will be compensatory and the pedagogies they initiate will be of this order. The net effect of such approaches is often the creation of a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure and low achievement, one that is impossible for Māori students to escape from.

The second benefit of an approach that identified the major discourses that those involved in education subscribed to, was that it could create an opportunity (albeit vicariously) for the participants in the educative exercise to “talk” to each other in a non-confrontational and non-threatening way. In this manner, teachers could promote change in their practices through their critical reflection on what students are reporting of their classroom experiences. We say this because by and large teachers do not appear to be aware of the full impact of their theorising and the strategies they use on the lives of Māori children. In other words researcher-constructed narratives, or researcher-participant collaborative stories can provide the basis for critically reflective professional development for teachers who are involved with Māori students. The literature (Bishop & Glynn, 1999; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Shields, 2002; Wagstaff & Fusarelli, 1995) tells us of a great gulf in perception and understanding between, in particular students and teachers, and to a lesser degree, between parents and students. Carefully constructed narratives of experience are a very valuable tool for use in bridging this gulf because it enables teachers to vicariously experience the power differentials of which they are all too often unaware.

SECOND MAJOR FINDING

The second major finding of the scoping exercise was that there are marked differences between the descriptions and explanations of their lived realities by the students involved, those parenting the students, the principals and their teachers. The teachers spoke of students’ deficiencies as being the major barriers to students’ progress and achievement. In fact, there was a strong preponderance of a pathologising of Māori students lived experiences by the teachers which in turn limited their interactions with Māori students in culturally and academically engaging ways. In effect, this study (and the literature reviewed in chapter 1) shows that many teachers believe that Māori learners are simply less capable of educational achievement because most come from limited language and economically poor homes. In contrast those parenting, principals and students identified a combination of structural and cultural relationship barriers that limited their satisfactory progress and achievement. In addition, the teachers as a group were very uncertain as to where solutions might lie. The students on the other hand, along with their parents and the schools’ principals were able to point to a number of very positive and attainable solutions to their problems.

However, we need to caution against generalising from these results as they were of a limited number of teachers, (approximately 30) and approximately 60 students, and these conclusions are only presented here as possible indicators of trends. However, these patterns do reflect the literature on this topic (see Bishop & Glynn, 1999, chapter 4, for a comprehensive review) and as such have been very valuable indicators from which the larger study was developed. For example, on the topic of parent/school relationships, over twenty years of research has demonstrated the benefit of close relationships and understandings between the aspirations and expectations of the home and school for students' successful progress in literacy (McNaughton, Glynn & Robinson, 1981; McNaughton, Glynn & Robinson, 1987; Glynn & McNaughton, 1985; Glynn, 1995; Hohepa, McNaughton & Jenkins, (1996); Hohepa & McNaughton, 1999). Indeed, cultural and social reproduction theorists (e.g. Bordieau, 1977) identify this factor as being the main reason for the success of some students over others, i.e. the schools are designed for and by those who have the appropriate "cultural capital" to achieve in the schools and classrooms. What was indicated in the scoping exercise interviews was the mismatch between the aspirations and understandings of the teachers and the principals, those parenting and the students and how this mismatch in perspectives might result in variable achievement levels for differing groups of students.

THIRD MAJOR FINDING

The third major finding of the scoping study was that many structural issues limit the achievement of Māori students in mainstream schools and these need to be addressed prior to, or in conjunction with classroom changes⁹. Some examples include:

- Problems associated with the transition from primary to secondary school.
- School management issues. The preponderance and pervasiveness of bells and timetables for example, overwhelms many Māori students.

Other such issues identified in the literature include:

- holding students back
- expulsions/suspensions
- streaming and banding with disproportionate numbers of Māori in the lower streams or bands
- disproportionate numbers of Māori students being classified as special needs
- timetabling favours the interests, skills and needs of majority non-Māori students (Hirsch, 1990).

FOURTH MAJOR FINDING

The fourth major finding of the study identified a number of factors that limit the achievement of Māori students within classrooms. These generally focussed on problems in classrooms in terms of:

- teacher-student relationships
- interactions between teacher and students in pedagogic terms, i.e. the teaching and learning dynamic

⁹ It is important to note here that as a result of the longer term study this statement has been revised to read "Structural issues need to be addressed in conjunction with or in support of classroom developments."

- peer effect and teacher reactions
- barriers to parent engagement.

When asked about these issues, many students and parents were able to offer a positive picture of change that would enhance their achievement potential.

Teacher-Student Relationships

Positive teacher-student relationships are those where:

- teachers know, trust, like, believe students and make an effort to understand and “know” them as Māori
- teachers understand the need for positive, connected relationships
- teachers are involved with students.

On the other hand:

- in most mainstream settings negative attitudes and beliefs about children create significant limitations on the development of positive relationships and
- many Māori children feel excluded, often by the language used in the classroom, by the mispronunciation of their names, their culture being ignored or being made into a subject of study or being subject to interpretation by “ignorant” others.

Pedagogic Issues

The study indicated that positive gains in achievement can come about through:

- power-sharing practices – “having a say in what we do and how we do it”
- teachers promoting a pedagogic base upon which education develops that contains the lived realities and experiences of the students, i.e. where they can see themselves in the curriculum (Culture) and in turn bring who they are to the curriculum (culture)
- teachers understanding the importance of being curious, patient, rewarding of efforts, carefully explaining ideas, being strict, fair and consistent
- teachers knowing a range of appropriate learning styles and creating a context wherein various learning styles have legitimacy
- teachers understanding the need for and the power of responsive feedback.

Student Actions

- Many students can be understood from multiple positions. Many students spoke of their resistance to the overwhelming denial of them as Māori, and about their avoidance of ongoing confrontation and hassles
- Many students spoke of their desire to work in groups but how this was not possible given the prevailing pedagogies

- The whole issue of the problematic influence of peers was raised by many. How teachers described and handled these interactions tended to influence this problem
- Overall, students spoke of the high aspirations they have for themselves in education, their willingness to participate and their desire to achieve.

Parent Engagement

Barriers to positive home to school relationships were identified. The prior and current experiences of many people involved in the parenting of Māori students (past schooling experiences, unemployment, solo parenting, nutrition) limits their abilities to interact in a positive manner with teachers and the schools and teachers are unaware of the need to deal with this issue. Those parenting Māori children also spoke of their aspirations and expectations in terms of their:

- high aspirations/expectations for their children
- seeing the Kura Kaupapa Māori movement as providing quality education settings
- understanding that good relationships for staff and students are essential
- seeing today's schools through yesterday's eyes; that is their own experiences of schooling limits their ability to approach schools today
- understanding that community-run, whānau driven schools are awesome
- knowing of the importance of school and parents having the same standards and approaches and these standards being negotiated.

Improving Educational Achievement

The information gathered from the scoping exercise suggested that improvements in achievement will come about through reducing the degree of “talking past each other” that is occurring among the participants in the education process; the teachers, the principals, those parenting and the students. In other words, there needs to be an increase in meaningful engagements between students, parents, principals and teachers. While there are many facets to improving such relationships within the wider educational context, one major understanding to arise out of the interviews with Māori students, especially those in mainstream schools, was that they wanted their relationships and interactions with their teachers to be like those with whom we had identified as being effective teachers in Māori-medium settings in Te Toi Huarewa (TTH), a study into effective teachers in Māori medium settings (Bishop et al, 2001b). These teachers created what we had termed a *Culturally Appropriate and Responsive Context for Learning in Classrooms* (Bishop et al, 2001b) where effective teachers of Māori students:

- a) create caring relationships
 - teachers respect and care for students and their whānau
 - students care and respect one another
 - whānau principles guide practices
- b) create structured positive and co-operative environments
 - excellent classroom management and routines

- non-confrontational behaviour management
 - mutually responsive relationships with whānau
 - parents helping with literacy tasks at home and school
- c) use, recognise and build on prior learning and experiences which promotes tino rangatiratanga of the children
- matching learning strategies and materials to children's prior knowledge and experiences
 - matching strategies and materials to abilities
- d) use feedback
- positively reinforcing behaviour and academic achievement
 - students encouraged to self-evaluate
 - formative assessment is used to indicate the direction of future teaching practice
- e) use power-sharing practices
- ako used in classrooms
 - whānau contact with school promoted parents help at school and at home (p. 207).

The concept of a culturally appropriate and responsive context for learning is based on Kaupapa Māori educational theory, principles and practices that suggests that new approaches to interpersonal and group interactions have the potential to move New Zealand educational experiences for many children of diverse cultural backgrounds from negative to positive (Bishop et al, 2000a). Kaupapa Māori practices suggest that where the images and the metaphors we use to express these images are holistic, interactional and focus on power sharing relationships, the resulting schooling structures, classroom practices and educational experiences for Māori children (and of those of others than the dominant group) will be entirely different.

To change classrooms from their traditional “transmission” mode to more interactive “discursive” modes requires teachers to adopt new ways of imaging their educational practices. Such images can be identified in the use of new metaphors. Such metaphors need to be holistic and flexible and able to be determined by or understood within the cultural contexts that have meaning to the lives of the diverse backgrounds of young people. Teaching and learning strategies which flow from these metaphors need to allow the diverse voices of young people primacy. In such a pedagogy, the participants in the learning interaction become involved in the process of collaboration, in the process of mutual story-telling and re-storying, so that a relationship can emerge in which both stories are heard, or indeed a process where a new story is created by all the participants. Such a pedagogy addresses Māori people's concerns about current pedagogic practices being fundamentally monocultural and epistemologically racist (Scheurich & Young, 1997). This new pedagogy recognises that all people who are involved in the learning and teaching process are participants who have meaningful experiences, valid concerns and legitimate questions.

This model constitutes the school and classroom as a place where young people's sense-making processes (culture with a small “c”) are incorporated and enhanced, where the existing knowledges of

young people are seen as “acceptable” and “official”, in such a way that their stories provide the learning base from whence they can branch out into new fields of knowledge. Finally, such a context is one where young Māori people can see themselves and their families in the curriculum, that is, where Culture with a capital C is present and accurately represented. In this process the teacher interacts with students in such a way (storying and re-storying within the narrative metaphor) that new knowledge is co-created. Such a classroom will generate totally different interaction patterns and educational outcomes from a classroom where knowledge is seen as something that the teacher makes sense of and then passes onto students.¹⁰

In Bishop and Glynn (1999) and Bishop et al. (2000a) a set of principles is suggested and reproduced here to guide the construction of practices that will address the creation of culturally appropriate and responsive learning contexts. This set of principles suggests that we must attempt to create learning relationships within classrooms wherein learners’ culturally generated sense-making processes are used and developed in order that they may successfully participate in classroom interactions. Such relationships must promote the knowledges, learning styles and sense-making processes of the learners as “acceptable” or “legitimate”. Teachers should interact with students in such a way that new knowledge is co-created. In this way, learners are able to be co-inquirers, interact and exchange notes and take part in the whole process of learning from goal setting to assessment and evaluation. Learning is to be seen as active, close to real-life, problem-based, integrated, critically reflective, creative and life-long. Teachers seek to create socio-cultural contexts wherein learning takes place actively, reflectively and where learners can not only use a variety of learning styles, but also have the power to determine where they can safely bring what they know, and who they are into the learning relationship. Where teachers and community interact, where home and school aspirations are complementary, and when structural limitations to the progress of the students are addressed jointly, then an appropriate learning context can develop. In such a context where what students know, who they are, where they come from and how they know what they know, forms the foundations of interaction patterns in the classroom learning can occur effectively. In short, where culture counts. Such a position stands in contrast to traditional positions where knowledge is determined by the teacher and children are required to leave who they are at the door of the classroom or at the school gate.

Hypothesis for the Long-Term Study

The scoping exercise called for the development of hypotheses and models for future research. The hypothesis that formed the basis of the long-term study is that the creation of a culturally appropriate and responsive context for learning in classrooms will bring about improvements in student engagement which in time will lead to short and long-term gains in achievement.

¹⁰ Such an analysis is consistent with the definition of culture provided by Quest Rapuara (Ministry of Education, 1992) which states that culture is what holds a community together, giving a common framework of meaning. It includes how people communicate with each other, how we make decisions, how we structure our families and who we think are important. It expresses our values towards land and time and our attitudes towards work and play, good and evil, reward and punishment. Culture is preserved in language, symbols and customs and celebrated in art, music, drama, literature, religion and social gatherings. It constitutes the collective heritage, which will be handed down to future generations. (p.7)

Such a hypothesis suggested that in the longer term research project in mainstream classrooms, it would be necessary to:

- a) identify what constitutes an ideal learning context (here termed a culturally appropriate and responsive context for learning) for young Māori people
- b) identify how teachers can create such a context for learning in their classrooms
- c) identify what might constitute an appropriate professional development intervention for teachers to enable them to create culturally appropriate and responsive learning contexts in their classrooms and implement such an intervention
- d) identify how such a process might improve student engagement in learning (as an indicator of potential gains in achievement)
- e) identify actual improvements in achievement experienced by students as a result of this intervention.

It was decided to focus on non-structurally modified mainstream educational settings because this is where most Māori students are currently being educated, and the interviews in these settings demonstrated the most divergent relationships between teachers and students. In the structurally modified settings, the boarding school, the wharekura and whānau unit, it was clear that there had been major attempts made to mediate these relationships. As a result, the long-term project was located in mainstream settings where Māori students participated in Year 9 & 10 classes along with other students of diverse backgrounds.

Chapter 3: The Narratives of Experience: Influences on Māori Students' Educational Achievement

Introduction

The longer-term project which ran from July 2001 until August 2002 consisted of three phases: the production of the narratives of experience, the professional development intervention and the monitoring of achievement gains of targeted Māori students.

This chapter focuses on the first phase, the production of the narratives of experience from the students (both engaged and non-engaged), those parenting the students, the principals and the teachers from four mainstream schools. This chapter then develops an analytical model that identifies three main discourses that are commonly used to explain Māori students' educational achievement. For each of the participating groups, the model was used to identify the frequency of factors that they see affecting Māori students' educational achievement from within each of the three main discourses. This data is presented in both ranked frequency tables and bar graphs. The narratives of each group of participants are then further analysed to identify common themes which are in turn illustrated by quotes taken from the narratives. Finally, the themes and frequencies are related so as to produce some overall conclusions and generalisations.

The Production of the Narratives

In the first part of the longer-term project, the research team produced a series of narratives of experience via a process of collaborative storying in four schools that represented a range of mainstream schooling types. See Bishop, 1996, and Bishop & Glynn, 1999, chapter 3 (which is reproduced in this report as Appendix A) for details of this approach.

This chapter details how the narratives were produced and then analyses the narratives to identify the main influences on educational achievement according to the varying people to whom we spoke. In chapter 4, again based on their narratives of experience, we identify what the students and their parents consider to be effective teaching. This profile of effective teaching was in turn used as the basis of the second phase of the project, the professional development intervention model that is detailed in chapters 5 and 6.

The first phase of the longer-term research project saw the development of a rich, detailed picture of how young (Year 9 and 10) Māori students are currently experiencing schooling and classrooms and the importance and impact that these experiences have on their educational achievement. These narratives of experience formed the basis of the identification of major influences on Māori students' educational achievement and subsequent intervention strategies based on the development of the Effective Teaching Profile (see chapter 4).

Given the findings from the interviews undertaken for the scoping exercise and the fact that the research approach allowed the students to articulate their experiences so well, we felt that this was a

good opportunity to produce a number of student narratives, using a *narratives of experience/ collaborative storytelling* approach. There is a paucity of such studies in the literature. However indications are that such narratives are a very powerful means of challenging the attitudes of current and prospective teachers. Indeed, such detailed narratives have proven very useful in the professional development phase of this project in countering in a non-confrontational manner, the effects of deficit theorising among teachers. The students' narratives are also very useful in debunking myths about the educational aspirations of Māori children and their parents; myths that are currently prevalent among teachers and academics as explanations of problems facing Māori students' achievement. From the research team's experience in the professional development phase of this project, we have seen that the production of a series of experiential narratives is a very useful professional development tool that could well be used for pre and in-service teachers' personal reflection and professional development on a wider basis.

THE NARRATIVES

Given that our kaiwhakaruruhau (Senior Māori advisory group) had indicated that we need to consider the impact of these interviews on the children, and the indications from the literature (Hohepa et al, 1996) that Māori children prefer to operate in both group and individual relationships, we began with a group interview in all cases and then asked for any volunteers who wanted to continue either as a group or individually. Then in turn we reported back to the group as part of the ongoing process of narrative development.

The process was further refined by conducting the interviews with two groups of students, those whom the school identified as being engaged with the education they offered and those who were not engaged with the school's educational offerings; the concept of engagement being fundamental to predictions of achievement (Fisher et al, 1981; Gage & Berliner, 1992; Yesseldyke & Christiansen, 1998; Widdonson et al, 1996).

The number of group interviews was based on our desire to provide narratives of experience from as wide a range of educational settings as possible. Thus, schools were chosen from across the decile groupings. In addition, there was a range of urban to rural settings, single sex and co-ed settings and schools with varying percentages of Māori students among the student body. However, whilst the project attempts to offer narratives of experience from as wide a range of settings as possible, we are not aiming to produce a representative picture that can be generalised to all other Māori children's experiences in New Zealand, but rather an indicative picture of Māori children's experiences. In addition, we suggest that the picture we present will also be one that others can reflect upon, so as to critically evaluate their own images, principles and practices in relation to their own settings. Indeed, as we share these stories with teachers in professional development and other workshops, many people voice their own familiarity with these experiences and also express that reading these narratives of experience has an attitude-changing effect upon them.

As in the scoping exercise, we felt that the experiences of the students needed to be understood within the wider context of their educational experiences and lives in general. Therefore, it was decided to expand the narratives of experience to include those parenting the students, the principal of the schools (as the agenda setter of the school) and the teachers. Thus, we have produced a set of narratives of experience from a multiple number of sites so as to cover a range of schools represented by decile levels, the urban-rural continuum and single sex/co-ed settings among other indicators. We have

focussed on four non-structurally modified mainstream institutions that represent a wide cross-section of schooling providers and a range of school and settings types to produce narratives that others, in similar settings, can reflect upon to inform their own practice and theorising/imaging.

Table 3.1: Schools represented in the narratives.

	Decile	Location	% of Māori Students in year 9 and 10	Single Sex/ Co-ed	Total Roll
School 1	4	Rural town (medium size)	25%	Co-ed	699
School 2	2	Urban (large)	45%	Co-ed	1230
School 3	7	Urban (large)	20%	S/Sex	1620
School 4	1	Rural town	78%	Co-ed	430

Table 3.2: Numbers involved

Principals	4
Teachers	80
Students (approximately half engaged, half non-engaged)	70
Parenting	50

Steps in Developing the Narratives

The interviews at four school sites.

- The four school sites that participated in this phase represent a range of school types. They self-selected through whanaungatanga (links), or through the reading of an article about the project in *Education Review*. There were more volunteers than could be included in the current project.
- The four schools were sent letters outlining what would be required of them as participants and co-researchers. One school from the scoping exercise came through to the long-term project. An initial visit was arranged to the three new schools to speak with staff, students and parents. In the fourth school, one of the research team had been working there for some time so the initial meeting was not required.
- Consent forms were provided for completion by each group.
- At pre-arranged times members of the research team visited the schools and undertook in-depth group focus interviews as conversations with engaged and non-engaged students (as selected by their schools)¹¹, teachers, those parenting and the principal. These interviews were not always in the school but were at places where those being interviewed were comfortable e.g. the marae, the local primary school, a private house. These interviews were recorded.

¹¹ Schools were asked to identify students for each category in terms of student's engagement in what the school/teacher/s had to offer to them.

- Transcripts were made and checked by the groups or individual principals.
- Issues and ideas that needed clarification were identified and opportunities were taken to meet with particular participants who could provide the clarification.
- Second and third interviews were arranged with students and some parents.
- Apart from these arranged interviews, students and parents, when meeting members of the research team at other times and in other situations, have volunteered more information for inclusion in the narratives. These more casual interviews are known as “Interviews as Chat” (Haig-Brown, 1992). These situations include telephone calls initiated by the participants, students finding research team members in their school-grounds or asking staff at their school to arrange another meeting with an interviewer. As the relationship between the team and the participants strengthened, the quality of information being offered to the project was even more thoughtful and insightful.
- Narratives were prepared and have been returned to teachers, principals and parents. All student narratives have been discussed with the students concerned. This process takes time but is integral to the Kaupapa Māori methodology being used in the project.

Summary of Steps Involved in Producing the Narratives

The following charts demonstrate the process that was used by the research team to develop the narratives.

NB. Numbers on chart represent how many members of the research team were involved in that step.

Table 3.3: Producing the Narratives: School 1

	Initial meeting	Consent	Interview 1	Transcript	Return to clarify	Check by mail	Checking in person	Draft narrative 1	Interview 2	Transcript	Return to Clarify	Checking by mail	Checking in person	Draft Narrative 2	Interview 3	Checking by mail	Checking in person	Other information	Narrative Final Draft
Non-Engaged		✓	1	2	1		1	2	1	3	1		1	2	1		1	1	2
Engaged		✓	1	2	1		1	2	1	3	1		1	2	1		1	1	2
Teachers	2	✓	1	2	1			2	1	3	1	1		2				1	2
Parents		✓	1	2	1			2		2			1				1	1	2
Principal	2	✓	1	2	1		1	2		2			1				1	1	2

Table 3.4: Producing the Narratives: School 2

	Initial meeting	Consent	Interview 1	Transcript	Return to clarify	Check by mail	Checking in person	Draft narrative 1	Interview 2	Transcript	Return to clarify	Checking by mail	Checking in person	Draft Narrative 2	Interview 3	Checking by mail	Checking in person	Other information	Narrative
Non-Engaged	2	✓	2	2	1		1	2	1	3	1		1	2	1		1	1	2
Engaged	2	✓	2	2	1		1	2	1	3	1		1	2	1		1	1	2
Teachers	2	✓	2	2	1	1		2		2		1				1			2
Parents	2	✓		2	1	1		2		2	1	1	1					1	2
Principal	2	✓	2	2	1	1		2		1		1	1			1			2

Table 3.5: Producing the Narratives: School 3

	Initial meeting	Consent	Interview 1	Transcript	Return to clarify	Check by mail	Checking in person	Draft narrative 1	Interview 2	Transcript	Return to clarify	Checking by mail	Checking in person	Draft Narrative 2	Interview 3	Checking by mail	Checking in person	Other information	Narrative
Non-Engaged	1	✓	2	1	1		1	2	1	2			2	2					2
Engaged	1	✓	2	1	1		1	2	1	2			2	2					2
Teachers	2	✓	2	1	1	1		2		2	2		2						2
Parents	3	✓	2	1	2		3	2	3	2			3		3		2	2	2
Principal	2	✓	2	1	1	1		2		1	2		1						2

Table 3.6: Producing the Narratives: School 4

	Initial meeting	Consent	Interview 1	Transcript	Return to clarify	Check by mail	Checking in person	Draft narrative 1	Interview 2	Transcript	Return to clarify	Checking by mail	Checking in person	Draft Narrative 2	Interview 3	Checking by mail	Checking in person	Other information	Narrative
Non-Engaged	4	✓	3	2	2		1	2	2	3	1		1	2	1		1	1	3
Engaged	4	✓	3	2	2		1	2	2	3	1		1	2	1		1		3
Teachers	4	✓	3	2	3	1		2	2	3		1		2					2
Parents	4	✓	3	2	1		1	2		2	1		1	2	1		1	1	2
Principal	4	✓	3	3	1	1	1	2		2		1	1			1			1

These tables show that the research team produced, in a variety of ways, a series of narratives of experience that emphasised the meanings that the research participants gave to their experiences. The process, via a series of in-depth, semi-structured interviews as conversations, enabled the participants to story and re-story their experiences in a way that becomes a part of the ongoing narrative record. In the process of constructing the narratives through spiral discourse, where the story moves back on itself for further clarification and elucidation, the emphasis is on the meaning that the participants

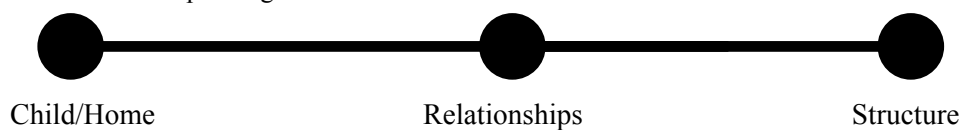
ascribe to their experiences and in this way produces a representation that the participants are able to legitimate within the very process itself. (Please see Appendix A for more details of this process).

Analysis of the Narratives of Experience

INTRODUCTION: DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANALYTICAL MODEL

A critical reading of the narratives of experience identified that there were three main discourses within which interview participants positioned themselves when identifying both positive and negative influences on Māori students' educational achievement. There were the discourses of the child and their home, the discourse of relationships and classroom interaction patterns and thirdly, the discourse of structure (See Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1: Discourses explaining Māori Students' Educational Achievement



This scheme was then used in the subsequent analysis of all the narratives as a means of comparing the relative weightings as identified by the interviewees within the major discourses.

In each case, idea units that were seen by the groups who were interviewed (students, those parenting and teachers) and the individual principals as having an influence on Māori students' educational achievement were identified from the narratives. The analysis of the narratives was coded according to idea units and the number of times those units were repeated across the schools. In other words, the narratives were analysed in terms of the frequency of unit ideas **across** the schools and not **within** each school. In this way we were attempting to develop a picture across all the schools, as opposed to letting the experiences of one school dominate, or even one articulate student or teacher. Therefore the frequency count is a tally of idea units. These idea units were then listed according to the discourse they illustrated and ranked according to the number of times such idea units were mentioned in the narratives.

In the construction of the narratives, emphasis was given to the meanings that interview participants had ascribed to their experiences and in this way produced a representation that the participants would legitimate. Similarly, when coding the narratives the research team were particular to refer to the meaning that the various participants ascribed to their experiences, that is, coding was based on what the experiences meant to the speaker rather than what it meant to us as researchers.

For example, some of the students' references to peer influences may be coded to relationships, whereas for parents and teachers these idea units may be coded as part of the discourse of the child and home. Another is coding references to the curriculum. For the students this is coded as part of the discourse of relationships and for teachers as part of the discourse of structures. On the surface this may appear to be inconsistent, however, all of those who were coding, were fully conversant with the process of constructing narratives of experience through the process of spiral discourse/collaborative storying (Bishop, 1996) and therefore when coding, were reading the narratives widely so as to identify the meaning that the interview participants had attributed to that particular issue.

This coding was undertaken by a small number of the research team who were both familiar with the process of collaborative storytelling and who had developed a common agreement as to what constituted idea units, themes, sub themes and more importantly how the participants positioned themselves in relation to the various discourses.

It is important to emphasise that such rankings come from a “snapshot in time” as the interviews were conducted in four schools in the second half of 2001. As a result, we are not suggesting that these tables and graphs represent firm generalisations, rather they provide a means of ascribing a rough weighting to each discourse and are indicative of patterns and trends that one may well find in other, similar settings. For example, despite this being an inexact means of measurement, when all four graphs (Figures 3.3, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6) are viewed together, a clear picture of conflict in theorising/explaining the lived experiences of Māori students emerges. In addition, while it may be tempting to attribute significance to some minor differences in numbers or percentages, it is the overall pattern of differences that is of importance. It is also important to note that the frequency figures refer to the number of narratives where such a factor was found; these are frequencies from groups of students (and later of groups of parents and of teachers) rather than of individual responses. Only in the principals’ narratives are there individual responses.

Analysis of the Students’ Discourses

INTRODUCTION

The students’ narratives from the four targeted schools were analysed in terms of the three discourses: the discourse of the child/home, the discourse of relationships and the discourse of structure, using Figure 3.2.

Factors that the students saw as having an influence on their educational achievement were identified from their narratives. This data is presented in Table 3.7 overleaf; Figure 3.2 shows this information in graph form. In addition, within the discourses a number of themes and sub-themes have been identified. Each sub-theme (or theme when there is no sub-theme) is then illustrated by the use of actual quotes taken from each of the student groups’ narratives.

Table 3.7: Ranking of Influences on Māori Student Achievement from Students' Narratives

Discourse Type	Freq
Discourse of the child/home	
Lack of adequate nutrition and resources at home	3
Negative family associations (according to the parents)	2
Family support for students is important	2
Students can be enticed to go wagging	2
Experiences of racism in community is problematic	1
Lack of resources/opportunities to do homework at home	1
TOTAL	11

Discourse of relationships	
Being Māori is problematic	8
Māori kids get into more trouble than Pākehā kids.	7
Teachers blame students for not keeping up with work	5
Copying off the board	5
Teachers low expectations of Māori achievement	4
Relationships with friends	4
Good relationships with teachers was vital	4
Racist/negative Māori stereotypes	4
Lack of formative feedback	3
Limited opportunities to enjoy learning with their teachers	3
Being made to feel dumb	3
Being singled out as known trouble-maker	3
Lack of secure relationship with teachers	3
Homework is problematic	3
Teachers not helping Māori students in difficulty	3
Poor relationships with their teachers	3
Teachers afraid of Māori students	3
Lack of secure relationship with teachers	3
Issues of confidentiality	3
Structure of lessons leads to behavioural problems	3
Emphasis on learning the curriculum	2
Teachers use of language	2
Māori students wag because of boring classes	2
Tense atmosphere in class	2
Teachers turn families against Māori students	2
Feedback by Māori students not valued	2
Lack of positive reinforcement for Māori	2
Teachers unaware of classroom dynamics	2
Engaged students unaware of their achievement levels	2
Achievers treated as non-Māori	2
Parents/grandparents feeling too scared to come into school	2
Māori cultural knowledge not valued as much as other cultures	1
Lessons too fast for some Māori students	1
Inflexible teaching approach	1
TOTAL	102

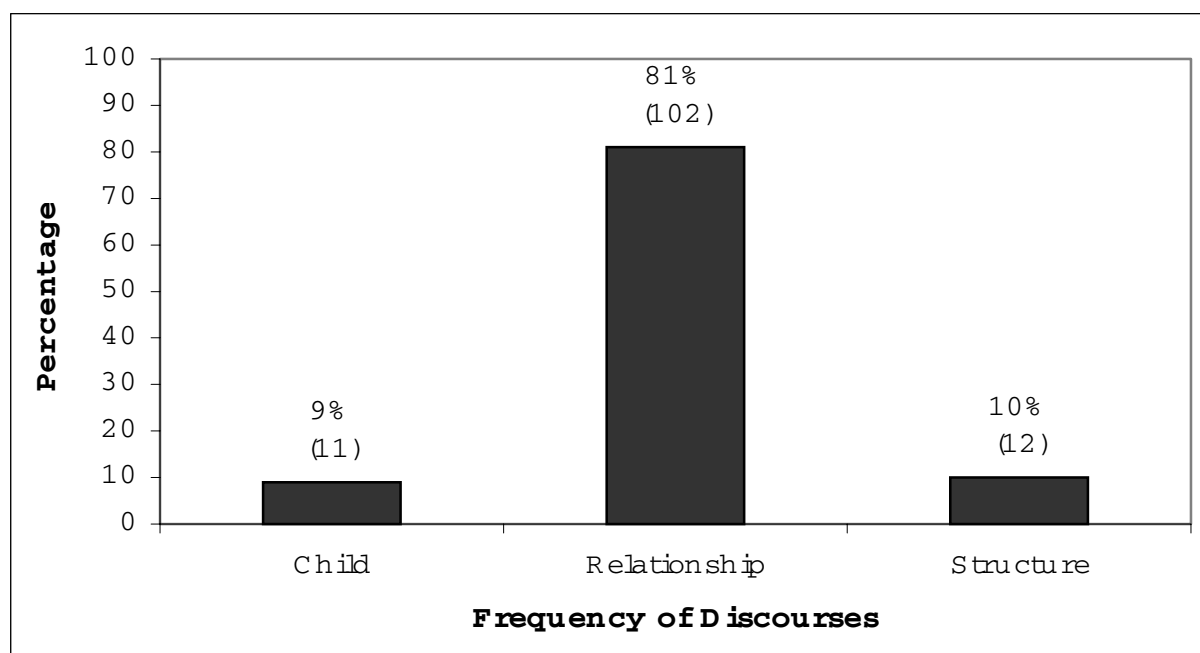
Discourse of structure	
School rules were problematic	4
Uniform seen as impractical	3
Lack of facilities to keep belongings	2
Relevance of curriculum content and structure	2
Streaming of classes is problematic	1
TOTAL	12

NB.1. The highest possible score by item is 8 (i.e. the number of groups represented here).

2. These figures represent group (not individual) responses.

The students identify the major influences on their educational achievement as being the relationships they have with their teachers; some 81% of the total student utterances can be located within this discourse (Figure 3.3). They acknowledge that there are issues they bring to school with them and that some structural elements influence their educational experience as well, but the overwhelming influences are those of relationships. This has major implications for attempts to bring about change because the students were very able to identify solutions to problematic relationships. In addition, the majority of students did not focus their explanations on blaming teachers or absolving themselves of responsibility, rather they saw that problems and solutions lay between people, in the way that they and their teachers related and interacted

Figure 3.2: Influences on Māori achievement as identified in students' discourses



THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE STUDENTS' DISCOURSES

NB. The number following the thematic heading is the number of groups who identified this theme (n=8).

Discourse One: The Discourse of the Child/Home

The students did not identify discourses of the child/home as having as great an influence on their educational experiences as the other two discourses. However, the students did acknowledge in the narratives that there were issues related to them and their background that might influence their achievement in the classroom. The themes that emerged in this discourse related to relationships within their families (both positive and negative) as being influential on their educational experience. As well, nutrition and access to resources (for example study space, calculators) that were required to do homework, experiences of racism in the community and being influenced to wag school were considered as contributing to their success or failure at school.

Theme 1: Home Issues

- **Family support for students is important (2 group responses)**

The students identified that the role their families played in influencing their educational opportunities was important. This type of support was exemplified through positive feedback within families, reinforcing the value of education in order to get better employment opportunities:

Having your family and friends to support you... 'cause they've all been through school and stuff and have good jobs and I want to be like that. I don't wanna be the only one that doesn't go through and stuff. (Engaged students, School 2)

- **Negative family associations (according to the parents) (2 group responses)**

The students also acknowledged that their parents made decisions regarding their education with their best interests in mind. For example, one student was moved to another school outside of the area in order to minimise the negative influences that they might have been exposed to:

My dad didn't want me growing up to be a druggie; like my cousins and stuff... I have made new friends who aren't into dak so I guess that's better than my mates back home who do smoke. (Engaged students, School 2)

- **Lack of adequate nutrition and resources at home (3 group responses)**

The students identified that there were issues related to nutrition (in particular having enough food to eat) and resources that influenced their success in education. For example, students identified that they often did not have the right equipment needed to do their homework, they often had little space to work at home, and some students were travelling long distances to get to and from school, all of which influenced their ability to achieve in the classroom:

The buses are useless so you can't study on the way home either. In winter you come to school in the dark and you arrive home in the dark. (Engaged students, School 1)

- **Lack of resources/opportunities to do homework at home (1 group response)**

An explanation given by the students as to why they often did not complete their homework was that they did not have access to space at home to study, or that they did not have the right equipment needed to complete the tasks set for homework:

I haven't got a place to do it. I haven't got gears at home. I got no scissors or magazines or computers. (Non-engaged students, School 1)

Theme 2: Peer Influences

- **Students can be enticed to go wagging (2 group responses)**

Despite the best intentions of some families, the students acknowledged that they were at times influenced by their peers to wag school, decisions which often got them into trouble:

When someone goes... I have got heaps of money and drugs. You're like, "Oh, okay. Yeah – we'll come". Next minute - it's snap. (Non-engaged students, School 2)

Theme 3: Negative Community Experiences

- **Experiences of racism in community is problematic (1 group response)**

When students were out of the classroom, they identified that at times, it was problematic being a Māori in their community. This point particularly related to when they went into shops and were perceived as being troublemakers:

I went into this shop once and he told me to get out. He thought I was going to rob him. (Non-engaged students, School 2)

The students identified that there were problematic issues attached to themselves and their home background. Some of these issues were beyond their control. The students also identified that their families were important in terms of how they viewed their education, and they also understood reasons why their families made certain decisions (such as shifting them to another school) in order to lessen their exposure to negative influences.

The students identified factors which had the potential to impact negatively on their time at school. For example, the students noted that peer influences could be problematic; being aware that participating in these types of activities increased their chances of getting into trouble. The students noted that they were also, at times, responsible for feeding themselves (in that they were old enough to organise themselves), although for some students, there were times when their family circumstances meant that there was no food for them anyway.

The students also identified that they were aware of the negative image that Māori had within their communities. As a result, the students found it difficult at times to participate at the same level within the community that other community members were able to participate. Restriction of entry into shops and the perception that they were troublemakers confined their ability to participate as full citizens within their communities.

Discourse Two: The Discourse of Relationships

According to the students, the discourse of relationships was very important. The students noted a range of issues and experiences that occurred within the classroom context that they identified as influencing their experiences at school. These experiences were centred on their identity as Māori and how this impacted on their learning in the classroom and on their relationships with their teachers. Students identified both negative and positive themes that influenced their learning in the classroom. For example, the students noted that when their relationship with their teacher was not good, then their learning experience was unrewarding. Students explained their lack of engagement in their learning as being related to the ways they were being taught and the absence of any academic feedback from their teachers. Within the school environment they perceived many negative connotations that were associated with them being Māori.

Theme 1: Being Māori

- **Being Māori is problematic (8 group responses)**

Both the engaged and non-engaged students identified that being Māori was problematic and influenced their achievement in the classroom. In particular, the non-engaged students found that they were often overlooked in class, and not seen to be able to make valid contributions to classroom discussions, while the engaged students noted that they were not seen as Māori at all:

We are nothing Māori if we are good in class, but we are Māori if we smoke pot or whatever. (Engaged students, School 2)

Some of us have good answers and we never get to say them. Yeah but the teacher doesn't know that! They just think all Māori will answer questions stupid. (Non-engaged students, School 1)

- **Māori kids get into more trouble than Pākehā kids (7 group responses)**

Associated with the above theme, the students also identified that Māori students were more likely to be singled out as troublemakers than non-Māori, even if they had little or no involvement in what was going on:

If you are on the field and there's a bunch of Māori and a bunch of Pākehā they'll usually go to the Māori. (Engaged students, School 2)

The school expects Māori to smoke pot but not Pākehā kids. If we say that we haven't been smoking pot they don't believe us. The laugh is that it is mainly Pākehā who sell it around the school. (Non-engaged students, School 2)

- **Racist/negative Māori stereotypes (4 group responses)**

Furthermore, the students identified that people made disparaging remarks about them, primarily because they were Māori. These comments were seen as being degrading to Māori and perpetuating negative stereotypes about Māori:

Some teachers are racist. They say bad things about us. We're thick. We smell. Our uniforms are paru. They shame us in class. Put us down... Say things about our whānau. They blame us for stealing when things go missing. Just cause we are Māori. (Non-engaged students, School 1)

A lot of people asked me last year if I had been abused and I was like “what”? Well, you are Māori, and I was like, so?! (Engaged students, School 3)

- **Lack of positive reinforcement for Māori (2 group responses)**

In the classroom context, the students also identified that they felt teachers were selective in their praise or follow up of Māori students as opposed to non-Māori. In particular, the students noticed that their progress, be it positive or negative, in school was less likely to be monitored by the teacher and reported to their parents than non-Māori. The students believed this to be because of their being Māori and the perception that some teachers have, that Māori parents are not interested in the progress of their child.

They tell Pākehā kids that their work is not up to standard and they’ll need to see their parents if it doesn’t improve. They don’t say that to us! They just don’t think Māori have the brains to do better... They’re scared of the whānau or think it will be a waste of time! (Non-engaged students, School 2)

- **Achievers treated as non-Māori (2 group responses)**

The engaged students identified that they were often not regarded within their schools as Māori because they were compliant, achieving children. Thus, these students felt that they became invisible to teachers, despite their academic efforts in class:

We’re average, we behave and so we aren’t Māori... All we hear about are Māori on the field smoking, and the kapa haka group. (Engaged students, School 2)

- **Teachers’ low expectations of Māori achievement (4 group responses)**

The non-engaged students spoke of their teachers having little or no expectation of their achievement ability. These students often felt they were put down in class and would then act inappropriately in frustration, thus reinforcing the teachers’ negative image of them as Māori:

The... teacher said – I don’t want to invest my time on you, ‘cause you’re too dumb... I just sit there and yell at him... Just sit there and purposefully annoy them. Or we walk out before we get a detention. (Non-engaged students, School 2)

- **Engaged students unaware of their achievement levels (2 group responses)**

The engaged students stated that they did not know they were considered achievers by their schools, as they were never told. They related this to there being little recognition of them as Māori achievers:

If you did well you never saw them... I don’t reckon the Deans have a clue who is working hard in class. (Engaged students, School 1)

- **Māori cultural knowledge not valued as much as other cultures (1 group response).**

Within the classroom context, the students identified that they felt their own cultural knowledge was not valued, in that they were often not asked to comment or contribute to discussions about their culture as opposed to other students in their class who were. As a result, the students felt that their being Māori was thus not valued within the classroom setting:

I'm a Māori, they should ask me about Māori things... I've got the goods on this but they never ask me. I'm a dumb Māori I suppose. Yeah they asked the Asian girl about her culture. They never ask us about ours. (Engaged students, School 1)

Theme 2: The School and Home Relationship

- **Parents/grandparents feeling too scared to come into school (2 group responses)**

The students also noted the relationship between the school and their families as problematic. In particular, the students indicated that while the school outwardly made gestures to allow the families into the school, their whānau, because of their own negative experiences of school would not come. This was despite the students wanting their families in their classrooms so they could see what they were doing in class:

Well they'd be able to see that I am really doing okay at school, but I think they'd be scared to come into high school. Yeah, my Mum left at 14. So did my Dad. (Engaged students, School 2)

- **Teachers turn families against Māori students (2 group responses)**

The students identified that many of their teachers often reported only negative aspects of their classroom experiences to parents and families, thus reinforcing the parents' and families' negative experiences of their own schooling and of education. As a result, the students felt that their parents and families punished them because of this:

Yeah, you know the school dumps on you, then they dump on your parents, so when you get home you get dumped on again. (Non-engaged students, School 1)

Theme 3: Student - Teacher Relationship

- **Poor relationships with their teachers (3 group responses)**

Another influence on Māori students' achievement in the classroom as identified by the students was poor relationships with their teachers. For example, the students identified that teachers' inability to communicate with them as Māori teenagers was seen as problematic:

It would be cool if a teacher could come down to where we are and teach us and not think that they're all high and mighty and you have to listen to them or else you're going to get in trouble. (Engaged students, School 2)

- **Good relationships with teachers was vital (4 group responses)**

Despite the problems identified by the students with their teachers, the students acknowledged that it was important to have good relationships with their teachers. Mostly, the students felt that having good relationships with their teachers would lessen some of the tension within the classroom and enable them to learn better:

Something that helps students get along is having a good teacher like a teacher that you respect and get along well with. Like in a teacher/student relationship. You like and respect them and they like and respect you. (Engaged students, School 3)

The students also identified the importance to them of having their names correctly pronounced, or teachers at least attempting to do so. Students considered that when teachers did this, it meant that they were trying to foster a positive relationship with each student. When this was not seen to be happening, the students would often respond with what was seen as inappropriate behaviour and were punished:

Mrs S... can't even say my name... and I always argue with her. She makes me feel like I've got a dumb name and I'm dumb... She goes, well, that is what I have got down here, and I go, "No, it isn't my name", and then I just let her go off. I know what she's going to say. I've heard it all before. (Non-engaged students, School 1)

- **Lack of secure relationship with teachers (3 group responses)**

Many of the students felt that their teachers had preconceived ideas about how they would behave and participate in class, rather than trying to get to know their students first. As a result, the students felt they weren't wanted in class, and behaved as the teacher had expected them to in an effort to get out of that class:

The problem is they have expected most of us to be pains since our first day in class. So we... oblige! (Non-engaged students, School 2)

- **Being singled out as a known troublemaker (3 group responses)**

The students identified that they knew teachers talked about them, particularly if they were seen to misbehave in class. Students indicated that they found this to be a negative influence on their learning in the classroom.

Yeah – when the reliever comes and they call the roll and they say "P" and I go "Yeah" and they say "Oh, so you're the kid that the teacher doesn't like." (Non-engaged students, School 1)

- **Teachers who don't like Māori students (3 group responses)**

Students indicated that some teachers would target Māori students, by pulling them up for not behaving appropriately in class for what were seen as minor issues, like talking. The students indicated that as a result of being negatively targeted by teachers, they would often not bother trying in class. There didn't seem to be any point in trying to re-establish relationships with teachers who did not seem interested in them except in a negative context:

They just like, pick on you, it just makes you not want to work. So you don't work. (Non-engaged students, School 1)

- **Tense atmosphere in class (2 group responses)**

The students identified that the atmosphere in their classroom was tense. They felt that this was often directly related to how good their relationship was with their teacher. The following example highlights how students often felt that they were placed in unsafe learning environments:

If the law was still there, he would love to strap us. He says – I would love to hit you if the law was still there. Hitting is not the way to solve anything anyway. (Non-engaged students, School 2)

- **Issues of confidentiality (3 group responses)**

The students' narratives also identified that they had difficulties confiding with staff members, including guidance counsellors, because they did not feel that their information was being kept confidential. As a result, these students did not see this as a valid option for seeking advice and guidance when they had problems:

You don't go to some Deans. You can't trust them. You go to see them because you're unhappy and next it's all around the school. (Engaged students, School 1)

Theme 4: The Teachers' Behavioural Practices

- **Being made to feel dumb (3 group responses)**

The students' narratives identified that they felt inferior in class, particularly in relation to their academic ability. Some students told of how they were actually called "dumb" in class by their teachers, while other students noted that if they required extra help in class, they were then seen as being not as able as other students in their class:

Well like, you are meant to feel dumb, because other people can do it, but you can't, and then you feel dumb, but not as dumb, oh like, not as smart as them. But you know you're not dumb. But you feel you aren't as smart as them, so they make you feel dumb. (Non-engaged students, School 1)

- **Teachers blame students for not keeping up with work (5 group responses)**

One issue identified by the students as influencing their academic achievement was an inability to discuss with the teacher any problems they had with the class work. The students felt unable to approach the teacher because they thought that the teacher would perceive them as lazy or dumb, rather than not actually understanding what they were supposed to be doing:

She teaches us and she talks for ages, like she talks and talks, and if you don't get something and ask her to go over it again and she goes all nutty. She says I have already said what you have to do now and if you didn't hear me then you just sit there. (Non-engaged students, School 1)

- **Teachers' use of language (2 group responses)**

The students identified that the teachers made them feel inferior by using words that they did not understand. The students felt too whakamā (embarrassed) to ask the teacher to explain, and instead would just sit there and not do the work:

'Cause he says these big as words we don't even know... You give up, you say well I am not going to work, and then you get into trouble... They're too big... it's just blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. (Non-engaged students, School 4)

- **Teachers not helping Māori students in difficulty (3 group responses)**

The non-engaged students felt that teachers often ignored them, even if they were asking for help. These students perceived this as the teacher preferring instead to concentrate on those students who were seen in the classroom as being 'good'. This resulted in the students feeling inadequate and isolated:

Well she would walk straight past you. I will always put my hand up... and she will say like I'm busy or like she doesn't say anything. (Non-engaged students, School 4)

- **Teachers afraid of Māori students (3 group responses)**

The students perceived that part of the reason why they were often ignored in class had to do with the teacher being afraid of them. As a result, the students said that their teachers would often teach to other parts of the classroom and ignore them:

I reckon they're scared of us. All the "goodie two shoes" sit up the front so they don't have to come near us. Just teach them... Most of them don't either get out of their seat or they always stand near the kids who work. (Non-engaged student, School 2)

- **Teachers unaware of classroom dynamics (2 group responses)**

The students identified that teachers often made assumptions about what was happening in the classroom, without checking to see if their assumptions were correct. As Māori students, they were often seen to be causing disruptions in class, even if that were not the case:

I think they just turn around and look for the person that they see...they don't even bother to look to see if they are even ready or not and that is why they get mad. (Engaged students, School 1)

- **Limited opportunities to enjoy learning with their teachers (3 group responses)**

The students' narratives identified that when the opportunities arose to have some fun with their teachers in the classroom, it was greatly appreciated and actually helped them get on with their learning. The students felt that too many of their teachers were scared to show their personality in class, thus making the classes seem rigid and unfriendly:

They have to laugh with you instead of just sitting there, but still keeping us in line. Keep the class in order, but still laughing with you... that helps you like the subject. (Engaged students, School 1)

Theme 5: Teachers' Pedagogical Practices

- **Copying off the board (5 group responses)**

A recurrent theme identified by the students' as being problematic in their learning in the classroom was the amount of time spent copying down notes from the board. Both engaged and non-engaged students felt that they did not learn this way. Many of them did not understand what they were writing, and were often given little opportunity to ask the teacher for clarification and explanation. As a result, the students felt that they did not understand what they were learning:

It's pretty much all you're doing, you're just copying. Yeah, 'cause you don't get enough time to read it you have to hurry up and finish it. And if you do get time to read it you don't understand most of it. (Engaged students, School 2)

- **Emphasis on learning the curriculum (2 group responses)**

The students also identified that they felt they spent too much time writing and covering the requirements of the curriculum, rather than actually learning. In particular, the students identified that they were given few opportunities to problem solve or try different approaches to learning:

Mostly everywhere we go the teachers tell us a bit and then make us write a lot. It's like they pour the stuff into us. (Engaged students, School 2)

- **Feedback by Māori students not valued (2 group responses)**

The students identified that they felt unable to ask questions of the teacher in class. As well, they felt that their feedback as students was not valued nor had any place in the classroom. Apart from asking questions to clarify the work being done in the classroom, the students felt that their opinions were not wanted and this resulted in them feeling “put down”:

We had this one teacher and every time you tried to talk to her or kind of correct her, she gets really uptight, because she thinks she is always right and as if we don't understand her...She takes it out on us. (Engaged students, School 1)

- **Lack of formative feedback (3 group responses)**

The engaged students also identified that they received little formative feedback to help them in their learning at school. In particular, the students identified that their homework was often not marked, the feedback they received was limited and did not assist them in correcting the mistakes that they made:

Their marking should tell us what we did wrong and how we can do it better... Even when it is a cross they should tell us how we can fix it and explain it to us because a cross doesn't mean anything to me. Because I won't even remember what the question was, I have just got the answer and it is wrong. That does not help me to learn from that mistake. (Engaged students, School 1)

- **Structure of lessons leads to behavioural problems (3 group responses)**

The students indicated that the way some lessons were structured and taught was too inflexible and ‘boring.’ In particular, the students felt that they were expected to sit and listen and were given few opportunities to actively participate in their learning. As a result, many students became bored and disruptive in class:

We want to learn too, but it's just too boring, so we make our own fun, and then we just get in trouble. Then we get sent to the Principal. (Engaged students, School 4)

- **Lessons too fast for some Māori students (1 group response)**

Some of the students identified that they felt unable to keep up with the work that was being covered in class. These students also identified that the teachers would put them down for asking them to slow down and help. As a result, many of these students gave up and didn't bother doing the work or going to class at all, because they were already behind:

It's like, when you say, “Oh please slow down.” He'll say “No, I won't slow down” or something like that. He goes, “Everybody else can hear it and if

you can't then it's your fault," or something like that. (Non-engaged students, School 2)

- **Inflexible teaching approach (1 group response)**

Another experience encountered by the students was the lack of flexibility shown by some teachers, particularly in relation to meeting the needs of individual, or groups of students. For example, students who had missed work or who were at different learning levels had difficulty understanding the work taught in class, and received little or no support from the teacher:

Oh yeah – like in the third form, like for maths, we didn't do much because everyone was talking all the time and the teacher wouldn't do nothing... So when we go to his class [referring to the new 4th form class] he goes, "Oh this is what you learnt in the third form, so do all this exercise". We go, "Oh, but we don't remember. I didn't do it", and he says, "Oh well, read the examples", but it's like harder work for me than them, 'cause they can actually do it properly. (Non-engaged students, School 1)

Theme 6: Peer Influences

- **Relationships with friends (4 group responses)**

The students acknowledged that their relationships with their friends could be both supportive and distracting to their learning. Particularly, the students acknowledged that if they weren't strong enough, they could be influenced by their friends to wag or to not pay attention in class. However, the students also acknowledged that having their friends in their class was at times useful, because they were able to discuss learning-related issues and help each other if they were having difficulties in class:

Your friends in your class, sometimes if you don't understand, they will help you out and put it in your words and then you'll understand. So that's how if you get a friend like that and they understand it, they can just tell you and you can get to work. (Non-engaged students, School 2)

Theme 7: Homework

- **Homework is problematic (3 group responses)**

The students had difficulty in seeing the relevance that their schoolwork had with their daily lives and as a result, they identified a range of issues associated with the homework set for them, by their teachers. If they could see no relevance for them of the in-class work then they did not feel compelled to do homework. This was compounded if they did not understand their homework, and when there had been little opportunity to seek clarification. As well when the teacher failed to check or mark the homework, the students took this as reinforcing their view, that it was irrelevant and not worthwhile completing:

Some people don't even check if you do your homework so why bother doing homework for those teachers? (Non-engaged students, School 1)

Theme 8: Māori Students' Strategies for Coping

- **Māori students wag because of boring classes (2 group responses)**

The students identified that if they found a class difficult or boring, and did not like the teacher, they were likely to wag, despite their stated preference of wanting to be in class. These students felt that if they had a poor relationship with a teacher then they would be unfairly picked on as a result and so wagging was a useful coping strategy:

I want to come to school to learn. I don't want to be a "dole bludger". But... the problem is some classes are really boring and some teachers give me such a hard time. So if it's that class and a mate says let's go, I'm outta here!. (Non-engaged students, School 2)

These Māori students placed a lot of emphasis on their relationships with their teachers as being influential to their learning. A common theme that was reflected throughout the narratives was their belief that teachers did not see them (Māori students) as having the ability to achieve. Rather they felt their teachers did not listen to them, and viewed their teachers as reinforcing negative stereotypes of Māori. Student reaction to this lack of positive teaching and learning opportunities offered by their teachers within the classroom was often expressed in unacceptable ways in the classroom. However, these students identified that where their relationships with their teachers were more positive, problems within the classroom became less of an issue.

Discourse Three: The Discourse of Structure

While the main theme identified by the students in this analysis was focused on their relationships with their teachers, the students also identified systemic and structural issues as being influential on their learning in mainstream classrooms. In particular, the students identified issues related to school rules, inflexibility of the curriculum and lack of facilities.

Theme 1: The School Infrastructure

- **School rules were problematic (4 group responses)**

The students identified that their schools had rules in regards to the wearing of tāonga. Most of the schools identified tāonga as an item of jewellery and as such allowed students to wear tāonga underneath the uniform. The students identified that the issue wasn't the restrictions relating to the wearing the tāonga, but the irregular way in which these rules were enforced. In particular, the students noted that they were more likely to be picked on for wearing their tāonga than other students who were wearing non-regulation jewellery items. The students felt that many of their teachers lacked knowledge of, and respect for the reasons why these students wore their tāonga:

Like I was in her office and like you couldn't see it but she just said "What's that around your neck?" and I go "It's my greenstone." And she just got the scissors and chopped it off... My Koro has blessed it I don't know how many times... Probably because we have all been saying we don't want to take it off, they are beginning to understand... That it's something precious to you. Yeah, just like their wedding rings are precious to them. (Non-engaged students, School 3)

- **Uniforms seen as impractical (3 group responses)**

The students identified issues in relation to the uniform. In particular, the students felt that some of the rules related to the wearing of the uniform were impractical. This was particularly so for some of the girls who stated that they wanted to be able to wear shorts and long pants. The students generally agreed that wearing a uniform was less expensive and less hassle for them, but did mean that if they had wet gear that necessitated incorrect uniform, they were more likely to get into trouble:

The trouble is when it's wet on the line. No PE gear is worse. You go to training and the next day its PE and all your gear is dirty. Mum shoves it in the wash. You're in trouble. Well maybe we should have some say in the uniform and what to do when your PE's are in the wash...Yeah, if we agreed on the uniform we'd wear it better. (Engaged students, School 1)

- **Lack of facilities to keep belongings (2 group responses)**

The students identified that because they did not have their own desks or lockers, their belongings (including their schoolwork) often went missing, or it was left at home where they felt it was safer. Many of the students reported that they only brought work or equipment to school when it was required because there was no place to keep it safe at school:

You don't have lockers or desks to keep your books in. Yeah, and the teacher will yell at you because you don't have your gear at school. (Engaged students, School 4)

- **Streaming of classes is problematic (1 group response)**

The students identified that streaming of classes, usually according to ability was problematic for them. This was particularly because most Māori were not seen as achievers and streaming highlighted where Māori and non-Māori were placed. Furthermore, those Māori who were streamed in higher classes felt isolated from their Māori peers, while those who were streamed in lower classes looked at those in higher ability classes as being “uncool”:

Yeah because they think they are high and mighty, they think they've done better than us, because they're brainy, so they treat us like the dumb people. (Non-engaged students, School 4)

- **Relevance of curriculum content and structure (2 group responses)**

The students identified that a lot of the curriculum being taught in their classrooms was not related to their experiences and did not draw on what they already knew. Particularly, the students viewed many of the textbooks used in their classes as outdated and of little relevance to their learning:

The subject of the book is boring... It's old stuff. Some of the topic books... use too many hard words so I can't understand them. (Engaged students, School 1)

SUMMARY

The gathering of data included in this section of the report was obtained through group focus interviews with Māori students considered by their school to be either engaged or non-engaged with the educational opportunities available at their school. Whilst there are indeed differences between the experiences of engaged and non-engaged students, there are a number of commonalities.

Most of the students reported that being Māori in a mainstream secondary school is a negative experience. Few reported having a positive experience of being Māori in the classrooms and this comes through in a range of issues from their not being able to wear tāonga through to some teachers being overtly racist who resort to negative stereotyping of Māori students.

The engaged students often distinguished themselves from non-engaged students by labelling the others as Māori “over there”, in effect perpetuating negative stereotyping they themselves identified and complained about, while at the same time perpetuating the schools’ attempts to assimilate them into the majority culture.

Furthermore, Māori were not seen as achievers and were (rightly or wrongly) more likely to be singled out as causing trouble in and outside of the classroom. The students were aware of this perception and many students appeared to conform to this negative stereotype out of frustration of not having their voices heard and listened to.

The students identified that their relationships with their teachers was the most influential factor in their ability to achieve in the classrooms. In acknowledging the importance of relationships, the students emphasised that the ways in which teachers taught, that is how they interacted with Māori students, influenced them into either becoming engaged in their learning or not.

To a lesser extent, the students identified that there were issues related to their background and home life, and structural issues within the school, that impacted on their learning and contributed to their educational experience being less enjoyable. However, it is quite clear that the majority of the students interviewed wanted to be able to attend school and to have a positive educational experience at school. Most of all, they wanted to achieve as Māori students.

Analysis of the Parents’ Discourses

INTRODUCTION

Factors that those parenting the Māori students from the four targeted schools identified as being the main influences on the educational achievement of their and other Māori children were analysed and grouped around the three discourses: the discourses of the child and their home, the discourse of relationships and classroom interaction patterns and thirdly, the discourse of structure, as shown in Table 3.2.

Factors that the parents saw as having an influence on their children's educational achievement were identified from their narratives. This data is presented in Table 3.8, below. Figure 3.3 shows this information in graph form. In addition, within the discourses a number of themes and sub-themes have been identified. Each sub-theme is then illustrated by the use of actual quotes taken from the parents’ narratives.

Table 3.8: Ranking of Influences on Māori Student Achievement from Parents' Narratives

Discourse Type	Freq
Discourse of the child	
Parental responsibility	3
Peer pressure	2
TOTAL	5

Discourse of relationships	
A better relationship between school and home	4
Relationship between child and teacher	4
Being Māori matters	4
Learning Pākehā strategies to achieve	3
Caregivers feeling comfortable	3
Secondary schools unwelcoming to parents	3
Teachers need to have a greater understanding of things Māori	3
Teachers need to know who the children are	3
Teachers need to respect cultural preferences for learning	3
Cultural tokenism	2
School relationship with parents – non-existent unless there is trouble	2
Relationship between child and parents is important	2
The need to achieve as Māori is important	2
Face to face contact	2
Marking work	1
Teachers need to respect each student as an individual	1
TOTAL	42

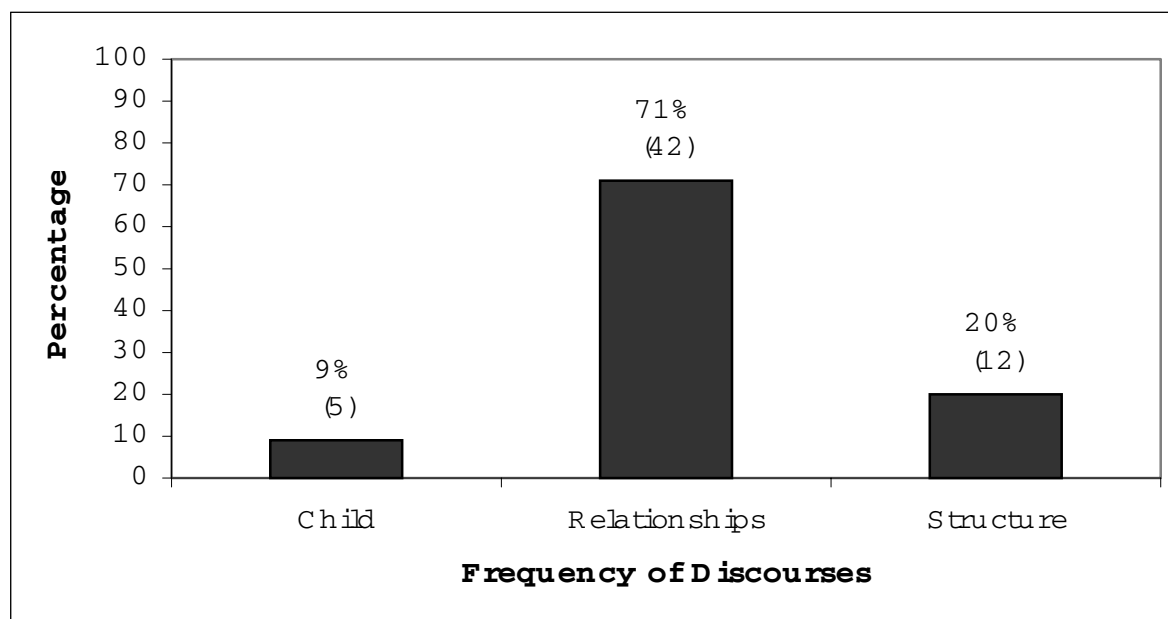
Discourse of structure	
Curriculum/school structure does not support or reflect Māori pedagogies, goals or aspirations	4
Transition between primary and secondary school is difficult	3
Whānau-based support groups	3
Children should not repeat their parents' negative schooling experience	1
Consistent school policies and enforcement	1
TOTAL	12

NB. 1. The highest possible score by item is 4 (i.e. the number of schools represented here).

2. These figures represent group (not individual) responses.

Figure 3.3 overleaf, shows that the parenting groups identify the major influences on their children's educational achievement as being the relationships that their children have with their teachers and others in the educational context; 71% of parent utterances are located within this discourse. The parents also acknowledge that issues related to their family background and some structural elements influence Māori students' achievement. The overwhelming influences, however, are those of relationships and the subsequent interactions between the teacher and their children in the classroom, the parents to the children and the home and school. From reflections of their own schooling experiences, many of the parents were able to suggest possible solutions based on their experiences and on their desire to ensure their children's educational experience was more positive than their own.

Figure 3.3: Influences on Māori achievement as identified in parents' discourses



THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE PARENTS' DISCOURSES

The analysis of the parents' data contained in Table 3.8 identified that the main influences on Māori students' achievement were mostly related to relationships. These relationships result from interactions between teachers and their children, between parents and their children and between the home and school. To a lesser extent, parents identified structural issues as also having an influence on Māori students' educational achievement. Discourses relating to their family background and to their children were not seen by parents as having as great an influence on their children's educational achievement.

NB. The number following the thematic heading is the number of groups who identified this theme (n=4).

Discourse One: The Discourse of the Child/Home

The parents' narratives identified two main themes from within this discourse that they believed influenced their children's educational achievement. These two themes related to them as parents taking responsibility for their children's learning and the influence that peers had on their children in relation to their learning at school.

Theme 1: Role of Parents

- **Parental responsibility (3 group responses)**

The parents strongly identified that they also took some responsibility for their children's learning. From this perspective, the parents saw themselves as being supportive of the activities that occurred within the classroom, reinforcing their children's learning at home and providing them with the skills their children needed to learn:

I think it is the parents' responsibility to support the teacher to, as you say, learn how their children can achieve really well. (School 4)

We exposed them to the options and said look. You have been exposed and that's your choice, and where you feel more happy and comfortable, then we'll just support that. (School 3)

Theme 2: Peer Influence

- **Peer pressure (2 group responses)**

The parents identified that peer influences were largely problematic. In particular, the parents were concerned that the influence of the peer group could sway the children to behave so as not to be seen as being distinct from the rest of the group. This meant that potential achievers could be led astray:

Our kids are probably self-conscious... Not prepared to stand alone, so you have got good kids on the borderline and they could be a good achiever, but they get influenced by their mates. You know, it's like standing at the bus stop and all these other Māori jump on the bus – well, he's not going to sit in the bus stop on his own, he wants to jump on the bus and go with his mates. (School 3)

Discourse Two: Discourse of Relationships

The parents agreed with their children, in identifying that relationships were a major influence on Māori students' educational achievement. The parents identified a number of relationships that were important influences on their child's educational achievement at school:

- Child to teacher
- Parent to teacher
- Home to school
- Parent to child
- Child to child

As well as these relationships, parents identified that if their child was to be successful then schools needed to recognise that being Māori and achieving as Māori was critical. This means that the culture of mainstream schools must affirm the culture of Māori students.

Finally, parents identified the need for teachers to do their job. This included marking work and helping their children learn strategies to cope with learning. Education at school was not just about learning new knowledge, more importantly, it was about learning to learn.

Theme 1: Relational Interactions

- **Relationship between child and teacher (4 group responses)**

Parents identified that they thought it was important that their children had good relationships with their teachers. Having a good relationship ensured that the child was comfortable in the learning environment and was then encouraged to learn and also achieve:

Inspiration through their teacher for learning... through their relationship with their teacher. If they have a good relationship it encourages the children. (School 1)

The teachers they have developed close relationships with have been ones that have stopped to encourage them and actually commented and treated them as an individual, actually had that time to just talk to them individually. And they have responded to that. (School 3)

- **A better relationship between school and home (4 group responses)**

Parents also identified the importance of having a good relationship between themselves and the school. The parents noted how difficult this was particularly given the way the whole system did not value Māori culture and knowledge. Furthermore, many of the parents did not have positive experiences of schooling and therefore found the idea of establishing relationships with the school as being intimidating and beyond their grasp:

It is about respect and relationships. Respect and relationships between the staff of the school and the families whose children come here. Our children are expected to learn in a school system that has hardly changed from the 1850s, when Māori were given an education based on schools in England... Secondary schools have done hardly anything to involve parents... because the secondary schools think they know what is best for the education of the children there. (School 2)

- **Secondary schools unwelcoming to parents (3 group responses)**

Parents were clear in their expectations for their children's achievement at school and they were also aware that external causes were often used by schools and teachers as a way of explaining Māori underachievement. However, the parents felt that the culture of the school was such that having parents and caregivers in class was disruptive and therefore the parents were made to feel unwelcome and in the way:

They don't want parents to be part of it really. They don't want to be accountable to us. They want the kids there from 9 to 3.30 and if the kids don't learn then it's everyone else's fault but the schools. Like they come from low socio-economic homes, the parents can't control the kids, they aren't fed right, drugs, wagging, their friends, no gear, etc. Anything else but the relationship and respect between the school and the students and the school and the parents. (School 2)

- **Caregivers feeling comfortable (3 group responses)**

Parents identified that they were very keen to get involved in their children's learning at school. Parents wanted to develop collaborative relationships with schools in order to further support their children's learning. However, even well educated and eloquent Māori parents felt uncomfortable and unsure of how to go about getting involved:

Do we just send them off to get rid of them out of the house for the day or what? I don't think so. We need to be allowed in but that's the hard one. (School 3)

- **School relationship with parents – non-existent unless there is trouble (2 group responses)**

Parents felt that schools controlled how they would participate in school settings. It appeared to parents that schools did not really want to communicate with them unless it had to do with their child's

negative behaviour, or for administrative purposes. In other words, the parents felt that they had little opportunity to engage positively with the schools or to engage with the schools on their own terms. This resulted in parents feeling unwanted and having no role to play in terms of their child's education:

I have been in this school when I enrolled my son, went to a Māori parents' meeting at the wharehau about kapa haka and once to see the Dean when he was in trouble. This is my fourth time inside a building at this school.
(School 2)

- **Face-to-face contact (2 group responses)**

The Māori cultural concept of *kanohi ki te kanohi* (face-to-face) was seen by the parents as being important in their relationship with their children's teachers. In particular, the parents preferred getting face-to-face visits from teachers as opposed to receiving written notices. The parents also identified that having the teacher come into their home, while not always practical, was more beneficial than getting the parent to the school because it was seen as a less threatening environment (for the parent) and it also demonstrated to the parent the teacher's commitment to their children's learning:

Last year the parents' support group came to our door... They'd pop in or ring up and come and have a chat... It was making school more accessible. We went together. (School 1)

The letters you get about parent meetings, they invite you to come in but it doesn't seem like they really want to see you. Like it's something teachers have to do. (School 2)

- **Relationship between child and parents is important (2 group responses)**

Parents clearly acknowledged that having good relationships with their children was a positive influence on their children's educational achievement. The parents identified that it was important for their children to have a secure, caring environment at home, similar to how they expected the relationship between their children and the teachers to be:

If you give these to the child, and she feels comfortable at home, she feels loved at home, she feels secure at home, she feels accepted at home, she feels appreciated, I tell you she'll learn and she will learn... If our kids don't get this message from their homes, then how are they meant to succeed in schools? (School 3)

Theme 2: Being Māori

- **Being Māori matters (4 group responses)**

Parents also emphasised how important it was for the children to be able to achieve as Māori, that is, that their Māori culture and knowledge could be valued and respected in a learning context.

Parents were strong in their belief that their cultural identity and the cultural identity of their children as Māori were important and should be affirmed within the school and the classroom. In particular, the parents, while acknowledging the importance of Māori cultural activities such as kapa haka, also wanted to make sure that Māori culture was acknowledged within schools as an important aspect of the school's culture and reflected appropriately as such:

Some have poor self-esteem about who they are, they fail academically and then schools give the message that Māori only do well in kapa haka and some sports. Some other examples of this mentality are that the kapa haka group is good enough to be pulled out for visitors, for prize giving but not good enough to be part of the curriculum... What does that say about the importance of Māori? What are the real signs that being Māori matters at this college? (School 3)

- **The need to achieve as Māori is important (2 group responses)**

Parents identified that it was important to them that their children's achievements as Māori be acknowledged. This point specifically referred to the need for the school to acknowledge that their children were Māori, in order for their children to be able to stand proudly as Māori and to achieve as Māori:

Knowing who you are makes you proud and makes you stand up. But once we know who we were and how beautiful our culture is – you know - you were proud to stand up and achieve... to start looking at who they are and starting to see how it's beautiful to be a Māori person. (School 3)

- **Teachers need to have a greater understanding of things Māori (3 group responses)**

Parents highlighted the need for teachers and schools to have a greater understanding of Māori culture, language and customs. In particular, parents were concerned that schools were too monocultural and focussed on learning from a non-Māori perspective. Parents believed that, by not acknowledging their children's Māori culture, teachers and schools were then marginalising their culture and in turn devaluing them as Māori children:

The classroom teacher should be able to speak in two languages not just the one, so he can sometimes break the monotony of teaching, by throwing in some Māori kupu. (School 4)

- **Teachers need to respect cultural preferences for learning (3 group responses)**

Parents identified that group work was a culturally preferred way of learning and should be viewed by teachers as a positive strategy for teaching Māori children:

Pākehā tell us that Māori like to work in groups. However, they often follow that up with comments about it not necessarily being a good thing. Look at gangs... The teacher says that they won't let students work in groups because they disturb each other or they just copy each other. I'm Māori and I don't feel comfortable making an individual decision about most things. I like to talk it over with others... I'm in it with other people. (School 1)

- **Teachers need to respect who the children are (3 group responses)**

Parents were clear in their expectations that teachers should learn about the children who were in their class. For example, this included learning about the child, where they came from, what their experiences were and what their culture and language was. The parents view was that this type of knowledge would help the teacher learn more about how best to teach their students. Furthermore, it was seen as a way in which the teacher could acknowledge the individuals within their classroom and

build positive relationships with their students. The parents saw this as being a positive way in which their children could relate to their teachers, which would then assist in their learning in the classroom:

If the teacher demonstrates cultural knowledge it has an effect on the children. They see the teacher as an individual who respects them and knows where they are coming from. The children see those teachers who have made an attempt to try and get on the same thought patterns, wave-length as them.
(School 1)

- **Cultural tokenism (2 group responses)**

Parents identified that cultural tokenism within schools was problematic and could impact negatively on their children's educational achievement. For these parents, it was important that the culture of their children was an accepted reality, which was valued and permeated through everything in the schooling context. In particular, the parents were concerned that their children were acknowledged only in terms of their involvement and achievement in overtly Māori activities, such as kapa haka. Parents said that they too were affected when things Māori were used inappropriately. They felt that often their only involvement with the school as Māori parents was limited to fundraising for Māori-related activities, as opposed to other school-related activities. Parents suggested that if there were Māori-related initiatives, the school was more likely to find ways to not support them when compared with other non-Māori focused events. The parents perceived that they were expected to take responsibility for funding Māori initiatives rather than these being the school's responsibility:

One of the things that I felt was happening at the school was the tokenism that was given to things Māori. Things Māori that we wanted to make happen, but you run into this brick wall all the time because of the budget, or its not School C, or whatever. Like the whānau support group is expected to raise money for the wharenuī... well, the school should be the ones that find the money. (School 3)

- **Teachers need to respect each student as an individual (1 group response)**

One theme that the parents identified as being problematic to their children's learning was the impact that teachers' previous experience with siblings and relations had in terms of relationships between their children and the teachers. In particular, the parents were concerned that their children were regarded as all being the same, and that their individual strengths and weaknesses were then not identified and developed. In many cases, the parents felt that their children were often 'tarred by the same brush', the effect of which meant that teachers had preconceived ideas about what their children could and could not do. The parents saw this approach as being unhelpful in their children's learning:

I have been in schools with my own children and have experienced this situation, being tarred with the same brush as everyone else. So being accepted for who you are and what you have to offer and building on it is fantastic. (School 1)

It doesn't matter if my sister was or is a brilliant musician. I have a measure to give and that's accepted. We should be accepted for the talents we have ourselves with no comparison with our siblings. (School 1)

Theme 3: Feedback and Learning Strategies

- **Marking work (1 group response)**

One issue identified by the parents in relation to the academic feedback given by the teachers was that it was insufficient. The parents sympathised with their children who completed their work and then found out that their work was not checked or marked by the teacher. The parents felt that this did not help their children learn, particularly in their learning from any mistakes they might have made. Furthermore, the parents felt that their children were less inclined to complete their work if they knew it would not be marked:

My girl complains about the poor marking by the teacher. One example was when we both were working on her... project. I saw the teacher down the road and asked her what she thought about it and she said great. Then when the report came in it said she hadn't been able to mark it... Most of her books are unmarked. (School 1)

- **Learning Pākehā strategies to achieve (3 group responses)**

Parents identified the difference between Māori and Pākehā culture, particularly in relation to how these differences sometimes placed their children in positions of cultural conflict in the classroom. While the parents stressed that it was important that their children achieve as Māori, they were equally determined that their children learn Pākehā strategies (such as to ask questions, to ask for help, to be more assertive with the teacher) in order for them to achieve in class:

Instead of saying, "Teacher, teacher" you know, "I want your attention, can you do this?", they sit back there because their cultural side of them is telling them, well, you'll get your turn, we won't be rude to the teacher... So half of me had to teach them – be assertive,... and the other half says – but don't be cheeky, you know, to get them both. (School 3)

Discourse Three: Discourse of Structure

Within this discourse, the parents highlighted five influences. Firstly, the parents identified that the curriculum was seen as not being relevant to or reflective of Māori pedagogies, goals or aspirations. Secondly, for many parents they could not see that the structure of the school had changed much since the time when many of them had had a negative schooling experience. Parents did not want this for their children. Thirdly, parents highlighted transition issues between primary and secondary schools that impacted on their children's ability to learn. Fourthly, parents identified that support groups (such as whānau groups) established within the school community were both problematic and positive for their children's educational achievement, and finally, parents identified that the school needed consistent reinforcement of school rules and policies, and consultation with kaumātua – particularly when these rules and policies impacted on tikanga (traditional cultural practices e.g. the wearing of tāonga).

Theme 1: School Structures Not Reflective of Māori

- **Curriculum/School structure does not support or reflect Māori pedagogies, goals or aspirations (4 group responses)**

The parents identified that the curriculum and the way the school was structured meant that Māori children were often perceived as being troublemakers and not suited for school. They felt that schools tended to expect that any problems that occurred in the classroom would come from the Māori

students who were often perceived by the school as being unable to learn for a variety of reasons, none of which were the responsibility of the school. Furthermore, parents understood that the curriculum did not represent, incorporate or validate Māori knowledge, thus denying their children positive opportunities to experience their own culture at the centre of their learning. These practices further marginalised and devalued the students own background experiences and therefore impeded Māori children's efforts to achieve:

They are taking the statistics from the wrong angle. If you took those statistics that are saying that Māori children are failures, from a Māori perspective those children are up here, you know they're the high flyers. They're high achievers, they're not failures. (School 4)

When I looked at the Science book I could have cried. They did some work on tides. It was all about the moon and the sun and the earth. Māori ideas about tides would easily have fitted in... All our Māori tikanga would fit in there. (School 4)

Theme 2: Impact of Parents' Prior Learning Experiences

- **Children should not repeat their parents' negative schooling experience (1 group response)**

Parents did not want their children to be exposed to their own negative educational experiences.

School for me was a nightmare. When I was 14, the Principal told me to get a job using my hands. I still can't read and write well. Nothing in the curriculum then valued the stuff I knew about. I don't think much has changed. I don't want that for my girls. (School 4)

Theme 3: Transition Issues

- **Transition between primary and secondary school is difficult (3 group responses)**

The parents acknowledged that their children had problems adjusting to the transition between primary and secondary. In particular, parents identified that their children often felt isolated because they were in unfamiliar surroundings, had often moved from small schools to large schools, and had little opportunity to establish relationships with their teachers because they moved from class to class:

You see children doing well at junior school. They do well at middle school, but the minute they hit the third form, that is when your trouble starts. BANG! Because it is suddenly going from class to class. Different teacher, different unit... There is no security... From the third form they lose all that steadiness. There is no support left. No awahi Māori. (School 4)

Theme 4: Whānau-Based/Support Groups

- **Whānau-based/Support groups (3 group responses)**

The parents' narratives identified that some schools had established or attempted to establish whānau/support groups. The positives seen in establishing these types of groups was that it enabled parents an opportunity to make a contribution to their children's education, and that parents could ensure their children's voices were heard within the school. The negatives were that the groups were largely dependent on individuals to ensure their success, as well as being dependent on the support of the school when trying to initiate new things:

We formed a small support group...to help all Māori students who are coming through to the school... We've opened the umbrella out now, to discuss everything as far as Māori is concerned. (School 3)

Theme 5: School Policies

- **Consistent school policies and enforcement (1 group response)**

One area of concern to the parents was the amount of time schools and teachers spent on disciplinary issues. In particular, the parents expressed frustration at continually being called by teachers and by schools for what some considered trivial matters (such as wearing incorrect uniform), when they felt the focus should have been on teaching their children. The parents were also concerned at the inconsistent and sometimes insensitive way in which teachers and schools enforced these rules:

With my eldest girl they were allowed to wear their tāonga so long as it was inside of their shirts... One day... a teacher actually grabbed it, pulled it and told her to take it off... I felt really sad. That's an example of inconsistency that she remembers now. (School 1)

SUMMARY

Those parenting identified that the major influence on Māori students' educational achievement was the success of their children's relationship with their teacher or teachers. As well, participants in these groups identified a wider range of relationship issues that they believed influenced their child's success at school. These included their children needing to know that there was a good relationship between the school and home and the teacher and the parent. Those parenting recognised that relationships between themselves and their children contributed to success at school. They also suggested, however, that these relationships were often constrained and restricted by the school.

Those parenting acknowledged that they had to take some responsibility for ensuring their child did well in the educational setting. However, over-arching all other influences was the parents' strong assertion that their children must have good experiences at school. If this was to be achieved, then the schools and the teachers needed to have a greater understanding of things Māori, so as to allow and validate the culture of the child to be present, recognised and respected within the classroom.

Analysis of the Principals' Discourses

INTRODUCTION

Factors that the principals' from the four targeted schools identified as being the main influences on the educational achievement of Māori children were analysed and grouped around the three discourses: the discourse of the child/home, the discourse of relationships and the discourse of structure, using Table 3.2.

Factors that the principals saw as having an influence on the educational achievement of Māori students were identified from their narratives. This data is presented in Table 3.9. Figure 3.4 shows this information in graph form. In addition, within the discourses a number of themes and sub-themes have been identified. Each sub-theme (or theme when there is no sub-theme) is then illustrated by the use of actual quotes taken from each of the principals' narratives.

Table 3.9: Ranking of Influences on Māori Student Achievement from Principals' Narratives

Discourse Type	Freq
Discourse of the child/home	
Socio-economic issues	4
Different culture and expectations between school and home environment	4
Student absenteeism	3
Transience	2
Adequate nutrition	1
TOTAL	14

Discourse of relationships	
The type of teacher is very important	4
Raising the status of Māori students in school	4
Relationships between teacher and student	4
Getting to know the students and their background	3
Peer support and mentoring	3
Teachers low expectations of Māori students	2
Māori parent representation on Board of Trustees	2
High parental involvement	2
Māori staff as positive role models	2
Staff unwillingness to adjust their teaching practices	2
Perception of 'teacher knows best'	1
Positive support from Māori parents for Māori initiatives	1
The importance of belonging	1
School initiatives that promote caring for the student	1
Relationship between school and child's community	1
TOTAL	33

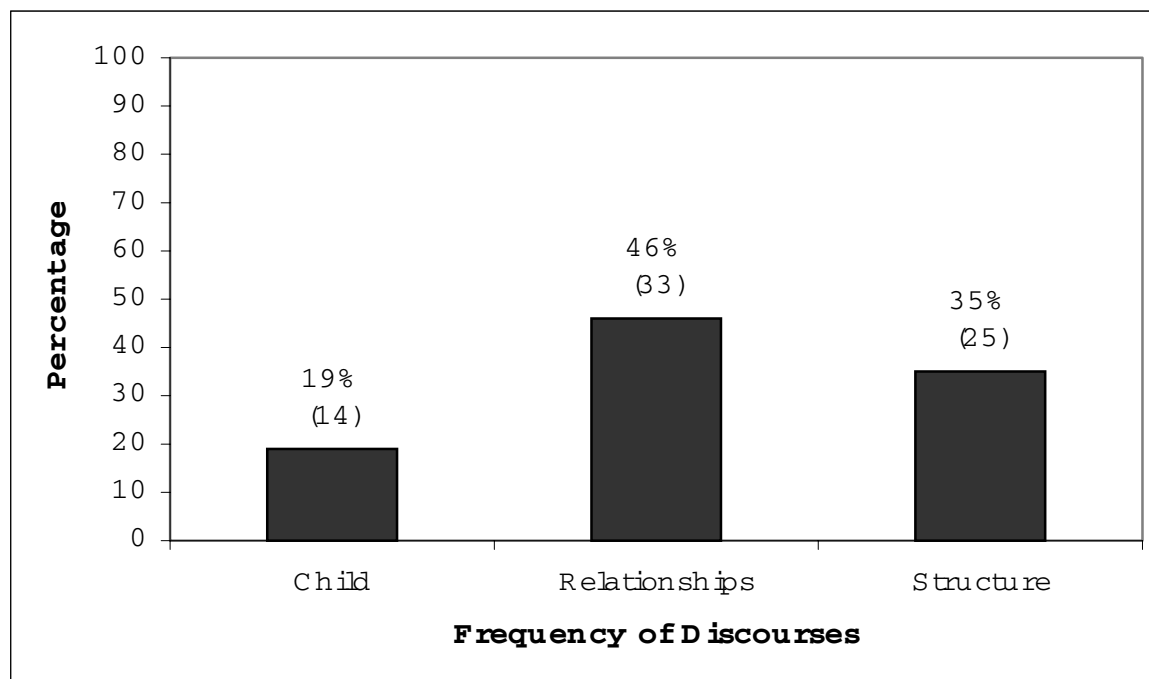
Discourse of structure	
Financial constraints	4
Structural issues	3
Traditional structure of schools inhibits parent participation	3
Smoothing transition between primary and secondary school is difficult	2
Engagement levels difficult to maintain	2
Whānau-based groups	2
Staffing difficulties	2
Creating safe learning environments	2
Establishing of community centres positive for Māori achievement	2
Initiatives to motivate student learning and achievement	1
NCEA	1
The establishment of alternative sites	1
TOTAL	25

NB. 1. The highest possible score by item is 4 (i.e. the number of schools represented here).

2. These figures represent individual (not group) responses.

Figure 3.4 below shows that the four principals identified the major influences on Māori children's educational achievement as being the relationships they have with their teachers, and the relationship between school and home; some 46% of the principals' utterances can be located within this discourse. The principals also acknowledge that issues related to structures within and external to schools and the family background of Māori students influence Māori students' achievement. However, the main influences are those of relationships.

Figure 3.4: Influences on Māori achievement as identified in principals' discourses



THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE PRINCIPALS' DISCOURSES

The analysis of the principals' narratives contained in Table 3.9 identified the main influences on Māori students' educational achievement were mostly related to the students' relationships with their teachers, the relationships of the parents with their children and the relationships between the home and school (46%). To a lesser extent, principals identified structural issues (35%) as having an influence on Māori students' educational achievement, and discourses relating to the family background of Māori students (19%) were seen as being less of an influence on Māori children's educational achievement.

Discourse One: The Discourse of the Child and Home

The principals identified two main themes within this discourse. The first theme identified the difference between the culture of the home and the school (the home having lower expectations and value of education) with consequent effects on Māori students' educational achievement. The second theme is more associated with the socio-economic status of the home, and related outcomes of transience, inadequate nutrition and limited support within the home for education.

NB. The number following the thematic heading is the number of individuals who identified this theme (n=4).

Theme 1: The Difference Between the Culture of the Home and the Culture of the School

- **Different culture and expectations between schools and home environment (4 individual responses)**

The principals identified that there were at times, quite marked cultural differences between school and the home. As a result, Māori children often found it difficult to adjust to the culture of the school, as it did not readily align with their own cultural experiences and expectations. This was seen as being problematic for the child because they often had to change their behaviours to suit the school setting. This often resulted in Māori students being less likely to engage in their learning and more likely to get into trouble at school:

Home can be quite different with how they relate in the school. There might be different boundaries, different ways of talking with each other, and what is acceptable at home may not be acceptable at school. (School 1)

- **Student absenteeism (3 individual responses)**

Some of the principals also believed that because education was not highly valued in the homes of Māori students, attendance at school was not considered a priority and absenteeism was permissible. As a result, the principals felt that these students were less likely to engage in their learning, and were then less likely to achieve:

The common factor in lack of success is attendance and... broken schooling... if you are not at school you lose the continuity. It doesn't matter how bright you are, you have to be there first. (School 3)

Theme 2: The Socio-Economic Status of the Home

- **Socio-economic issues (4 individual responses)**

One of the difficulties highlighted by the principals regarding influences on Māori students' educational achievement was their socio-economic background. In particular, the principals identified that many of their Māori families were either on benefits or in low-income jobs, creating a subsistence-type climate within the family home. As a result, the principals believed that there was less emphasis on education, and less capability for support within the homes of Māori children:

Most of them are actually solo parents... They're working long hours, they often work nights. They are not there to see whether the young person gets off to school because they have come in from night shift, gone to bed, and don't realise till later... So when we talk about barriers to learning, I always say to my people, don't even go there, because we can't do anything about it. (School 2)

- **Transience (2 individual responses)**

Associated with the socio-economic background of Māori children was the issue of transience. The principals identified that a large number of Māori children within their schools were transient, that is, had been to more than one secondary school. The principals noted that in some cases, transience was directly related to the socio-economic situation in the home, where families moved for employment opportunities, although in other cases, children were sent to live with relatives – either to better their educational chances or to get away from unsafe family and community environments (in particular exposure to drugs):

Transience is a major problem... around 25 to 30% of our third form change schools during the year. So that is difficult when you have students coming in half way through the year. It means there is constant changing of class members. (School 2)

- **Adequate nutrition (1 individual response)**

The principals also identified that many of their students were coming to school with little or no access to nutritional food. Again, the socio-economic background was pointed at as a reason for this, and the principals felt that this was an influential factor in the academic achievement of Māori children:

I suspect too many children are coming to school without breakfast and maybe lunch. I don't see how they can work if they haven't got food in their stomach. (School 1)

Discourse Two: Discourse of Relationships

The principals identified a number of relationship-related themes as being influential to Māori students' educational achievement. The first theme identified was the importance of the relationship between the teacher and the student. The second theme related to the relationships between the school and the family, while the third theme identified by the principals was the need for schools to acknowledge Māori families' cultural preferences for learning.

Theme 1: The Relationship Between the Teacher and the Student

- **The type of teacher is very important (4 individual responses)**

All of the principals identified a range of qualities that they believed shaped a good teacher. In particular, the principals stressed that the type of teacher was important because they had the opportunity to impact positively (or in some cases, negatively) on their students' lives. Most of the principals, however, did acknowledge that these types of teachers were difficult to find:

I think the best teachers are those that have what we say about young people, they are secure in themselves, that don't mind being put on the spot, or don't mind having to do something a bit different, they want to explore the whole education process and see it as a challenge, as a time with these young people, and have a sense of fun along the way, have a sense of joy in what they're doing. (School 2)

- **Teachers' low expectations of Māori students (2 individual responses)**

Another difficulty identified by the principals that influenced Māori students' educational achievement was that many of their teachers had low expectations of Māori students and were prepared to settle for less than what the students were capable of giving. In particular, the principals felt that many teachers had negative images of Māori students, which reinforced their views of Māori incapability in achieving. As a result, the principals felt that Māori students were not being pushed to reach their true potential:

Probably the most difficult thing is to maintain teachers' optimism and expectancy that kids can do it...One of the teachers here is an HOD and is into "dumbing down". Somehow they established an acceptable level. That was the standard. If they didn't get there, it was the kids fault. (School 4)

- **Raising the status of Māori students in school (4 individual responses)**

One of the difficulties identified by the principals was the need to create positive scenarios for Māori students, particularly for their learning experiences at school. The principals were aware of negative Māori stereotypes and were conscious of the need to create, within their schools and among their teachers, an expectation that Māori could achieve:

I personally feel that raising the status of Māori in our school is a key.
(School 1)

- **Staff unwillingness to adjust their teaching practices (2 individual responses)**

Principals identified that many of their staff were often unwilling to recognise that their students had different learning needs and requirements, and thus did not adjust their teaching accordingly. As a result, conflict between teacher and student occurred, with the teacher blaming the student for their lack of ability. The principals also identified that staff were unwilling to try alternative teaching approaches:

I worked in another situation... but I can't get my staff to buy into this, where the teachers moved and the kids stayed put – but no the staff don't want to do that... It worked... we moved to them and, you know, they just felt secure. (School 2)

- **Relationships between teacher and student (4 individual responses)**

In order to raise the status of Māori children in schools, the principals identified that importance of good relationships between teacher and student. This meant that teachers had to be able to relate to the students, despite their different backgrounds, and more importantly, had to respect the students as individuals, establishing relationships that would make their job as teachers much easier:

You have to connect with students. Once you've done that and you've got a relationship with the student, you can take them anywhere. (School 3)

- **School initiatives that promote caring for the student (1 individual response)**

The principals saw the role of the school in providing a caring environment for their Māori students as being an important influence on Māori students' educational achievement. Part of this included promoting initiatives within the school that actively encouraged caring for students, in order to show them that they were seen as valued members of the school community. By doing this, the principals felt that it encouraged a greater desire by Māori students to achieve and to support their peers to achieve as well:

It's a mentoring group. It's that belonging thing, a place to be. It is that you're in your mainstream class, you're doing what you're doing, but somebody out there has said 'you have potential', and it's that recognizing, that shoulder tapping... I think the purpose of the group is, if you lift the achievement of some, it encourages the others. (School 3)

Theme 2: Home and School Relationships

- **Relationship between school and child's community (1 individual response)**

The principals identified that the relationship between the school and the child's community was an important influence in Māori students' educational achievement. In particular, the principals identified that a greater understanding and knowledge of the child's community would allow the

school to better meet the individual needs of their students instead of creating a blame culture when students' learning needs were not being met by the school:

If you allow teachers to find a reason for non-success of students they'll always find it in the community that children come from. (School 4)

- **Getting to know the students and their background (3 individual responses)**

Part of creating better relationships between school and community and the teacher and student required both teachers and the schools to get to know their students' background. Some of the schools implemented policies of "leaving it at the gate", which meant that what happened in the child's background did not affect the child at school. However, others thought that this was not always the best policy, and suggested that in order to better meet the needs of the student at school, it was important for schools to know the students and their background:

Despite the fact that we should leave it at the front gate, their family background is important, it does influence a child. (School 3)

- **Māori parent representation on Board of Trustees (2 individual responses)**

Facilitating a more positive relationship between the school and the community meant that two of the schools in the project had elected Māori members in the community on to the school's Board of Trustees, a change from when the schools were co-opting Māori members. This was seen as a positive move by these principals in that the Māori members had gained the confidence of their community to facilitate greater Māori participation in the governance activities of the schools:

This is the first year since 'Tomorrow's Schools' that a Māori parent has been elected to the BOT. Until then we've co-opted two to fill the gap. (School 1)

- **High parental involvement (2 individual responses)**

The principals also identified that greater parental involvement in their children's learning ensured that the schools became more accountable to them. In particular, the principals noted that they welcomed feedback from Māori members of the community to ensure that programmes offered within the school were not token gestures but rather reflected Māori aspirations:

If they feel that the school is not just saying things but if they are perceived as doing things, that will keep the parent on board... Whānau are coming in to find out how their children can do better. (School 4)

- **Perception of "teacher knows best" (1 individual response)**

In facilitating better family-school relationships, one principal suggested that it was more difficult to talk with parents about academic issues than behavioural issues. This principal felt that this stemmed from a "teacher knows best" mentality by parents, which was seen to be based on parental experiences of education, which for Māori parents had often been negative:

However, they [parents] are a bit more reluctant to come in when their kids are experiencing learning difficulties. They seem to feel that they can't talk to us about in class learning problems their child might be having. I think it's a lack of confidence. A hangover from the past when the teacher was always right. (School 1)

- **Positive support from Māori parents for Māori initiatives (1 individual response)**

One principal acknowledged that when the effort was made to include Māori parents in school-related activities and events, there was often positive support from the Māori community, particularly if the initiative was seen to benefit Māori students:

We realised that greater effort needs to be made to contact parents when positive events happen, as was done when we held consultations with the community about the setting up of the bilingual unit. (School 1)

Theme 3: Bringing the Culture of the Child into the School

- **Peer support and mentoring (3 individual responses)**

The principals saw understanding cultural preferences for learning and being able to implement them within the school environment as a positive influence on Māori students' educational achievement. In particular, the principals identified the use of peer mentoring, such as the tuakana/teina learning approach, as being a positive initiative, while Māori teachers were also employed as a way of providing Māori students with positive Māori role models:

I think some of the things that influence the achievement of our young ones, early on, is that they look to identify with a group... It does mean that we find our year nine... have hooked up with our year ten... very quickly... so we've just started a tuakana/teina programme, so we may as well have positive mentors there for them instead of any other group. Our tuakana came from year 12. (School 3)

- **Māori staff as positive role models (2 individual responses)**

The principals identified that Māori children at their schools often identified more closely with Māori members on staff. As a result, the principals were conscious of providing positive Māori role models to the students, through their Māori staff members:

The fact is that Māori kids are definitely more comfortable talking to Māori people. (School 1)

I've... tried to employ more Māori teachers and it has not been easy... I have really made an effort to do that, as I believe role modelling is important, and we know now that we have some really good role models. Māori role models. It's excellent. (School 2)

- **The importance of belonging (1 individual response)**

One principal also recognised the importance of belonging for Māori students. In particular, this meant that schools had to create environments that acknowledged the culture and identity of Māori students so that they felt secure, comfortable and willing to learn:

I think there's a real issue for schools of belonging. It's identifying where you belong, and I think the focus for this school's strategic direction is we know where they feel comfortable, where they feel acknowledged and feel they belong. (School 3)

Discourse Three: Discourse of Structure

This discourse contained three themes that the principals saw as being influential on the educational achievement of Māori students. The first theme related to structural issues within the school, such as financial restrictions, the traditional perception of schools, staffing issues and the need to create a safe environment for children at school.

The second theme identified structural issues external to but connected with the school, such as the transition between primary and secondary schooling and the role of whānau within school initiatives and developments.

The third theme identified curriculum-related structural issues that influenced Māori academic achievement. These issues included the establishment of alternative sites of education, the establishment of homework centres, the creation of achievement initiatives, the problems of maintaining engagement levels for Māori children and what was seen by one of the principals as the positive impact of the new qualification, NCEA.

Theme 1: Structural Issues Within the School

- **Financial constraints (4 individual responses)**

Of major concern to the principals were the financial constraints within which schools operated. The principals identified that their schools had limited budgets and as a result, they were very limited in the types of initiatives and programmes they could implement in their school. The extent of their financial restrictions also impacted on their ability to employ good quality teachers and maximise teaching and learning time:

If we can't put a teacher in front of them all the time then maybe we need to use some sort of technology, some online learning and have the teacher there as the facilitator for some of the time. That costs money and it's all down again to dollars. (School 2)

- **Structural issues (3 individual responses)**

The principals also identified structural issues within their school that created problematic situations that influenced the educational achievement of Māori students. In particular, principals identified class size, transition from one class to another and having different teachers for each subject as being problematic to Māori students' educational achievement:

One of the places where you lose children is when they change classes. "Shall I go to Maths, I don't like going to Maths." (School 3)

For some students... the formalities and culture of the school has not been something they can identify with. You know we have got a traditional British hierarchical structure... How can students engage in something like that? (School 2)

- **Traditional view of schools inhibits parent participation (3 individual responses)**

Principals noted that Māori student's families often had a negative view of education and understood this to be largely based on their own personal educational experiences. The principals suggested that these past experiences meant that many Māori parents were not keen to come into the school to see

how their children were doing, and in some cases it meant that education was not highly valued in some families:

There is a lot of negativity about past educational experiences. I mean I have had some parents in here who have had very bad experiences themselves of education. (School 2)

- **Staffing difficulties (2 individual responses)**

One of the difficulties identified by the principals was in attracting and keeping good quality teaching staff. In particular, principals identified that high staff turnover meant that students were often having to cope with numbers of teachers for one subject in a single year, a factor which the principals identified as being very influential to the educational achievement of Māori students:

In the last three years I have had a 30% turnover of staff every year.... I think it is a huge factor in the achievement of Māori students... because our students generally, and possibly Māori students particularly, like consistency and continuity. (School 2)

- **Creating safe learning environments (2 individual responses)**

The principals also identified the importance of ensuring that their schools were safe places for children to come to each day. This was particularly so for those children whose family background might not be considered stable and caring. The principals saw it as the responsibility of their school to provide continuity and stability to counter what might be happening outside of the school gates, in order to give the children some space in which they could feel safe and be guided towards more positive future outcomes:

Particularly for a number of our students who come from homes or from backgrounds that haven't necessarily had stability... there is a whole lot of change in their own lives so one thing we can obviously do for them is to give them some stability and a code that they could operate within. (School 2)

Our policy is to 'leave it at the gate' which means that... regardless of what comes through the gate... here is safe, secure, we offer you something, the same thing every day, every time, every space is the same. (School 3)

Theme 2: External Structural Issues That Impact on the School

- **Smoothing transition between primary and secondary schools is difficult (2 individual responses)**

Another difficulty encountered by principals in ensuring positive educational experiences for Māori students was student transition from primary to secondary. In particular, principals identified that some children had difficulty in adjusting to the changes in scale and expectations, whereby they were moved from one teacher to another and one class to another. This created difficulties for some students and made the establishment of a relationship with teachers much more difficult to achieve. Some students often decided not to go to class at all:

We are trying to minimise the problem of moving from Year 8 to 9... We recognize that for a lot of my young people coming in, the sheer size, the

sheer moving around and the sheer number of teachers that they to interact with is overwhelming. (School 2)

- **Whānau-based groups (2 individual responses)**

Efforts to establish support structures within the school specifically for Māori had met with mixed success. The principals identified that this was largely due to the individuals involved and how committed they were in ensuring the success of the programme:

We have had a Māori support group operating in the past but when the keen parents dropped off, the group folded. (School 1)

Theme 3: Curriculum Issues

- **Establishment of community centres positive for Māori achievement (2 individual responses)**

Some of the principals identified positive initiatives that had been established and were positively influencing the educational achievement for Māori students. The particular initiative described below had the support of the principal, despite it being located at a local primary school, and was seen as a place where students were able to engage in their learning (and did so) in a comfortable and safe environment:

The kids see it as a club. They go there knowing they have a nice space to work in, and resources they can use... You rarely see students from that area in detention room... There are no discipline problems. It's great. (School 1)

- **Engagement levels difficult to maintain (2 individual responses)**

One of the difficulties identified by the principals was maintaining the engagement levels of their students, particularly those in Year 9. The principals were perplexed as to the causes of this problem, but suggested the transition from primary to secondary as being influential. Their main concern, however, was to ensure that these children were not lost in the system, and that their learning experiences would be more positive:

When the kids come into College they're keen to learn, they're bright, they're happy, they're really eager to get on with it and then about Term 3 of their first year at College it feels like the lights go out in their eyes and it's almost like a feeling that they can't win here. (School 1)

- **Initiatives to motivate student learning and achievement (1 individual response)**

One of the principals identified an initiative established at their school that encouraged Māori students to learn and to achieve. These schools encouraged achievement in academic subjects, but also included as achievement criteria, participation in cultural activities, such as kapa haka and sporting activities, and good behaviour, or "citizenship":

The kids get credits, merits or excellence in each subject area, each term, for knowledge and skill, for self-management, homework, having the right equipment; that sort of thing. As well, there are credits that the whānau teacher gives them for citizenship, punctuality, wearing the uniform with pride, politeness and contributing to the school. (School 1)

- **NCEA (1 individual response)**

One of the principals felt that the new academic qualification system, NCEA, was more appropriate to the learning needs of Māori students. In particular, this principal identified that NCEA worked towards recognition of the different skills that Māori students had, that were not acknowledged within the traditional school system:

Success in gaining credits in one area would hopefully be transferable into gaining credits in what some might call the “academics”. It would be easy to support the stereotypical view of Māori, that of being ‘good with their hands, singing, etc’ but right now the majority of Māori students are having little success in schools. Hopefully success will breed success. (School 1)

- **The establishment of alternative sites (1 individual response)**

One principal identified an initiative they had developed within their school to keep Māori students engaged in their learning. This principal had established an alternative site for particularly problematic children, which effectively allowed them “time-out” from the mainstream structure, and worked to get them re-engaged in their learning and ready to be re-integrated back into everyday school-life. This principal felt that this alternative approach ensured that their students were not just lost from the school system and gave these students an opportunity to work according to their individual needs and requirements:

Getting them into the activity centre for the alternative education programme has meant that we have been able to re-engage them with the educative process. (School 2)

SUMMARY

The principals supported both the students and those parenting in identifying the discourse of relationships as the most influential on Māori students’ educational achievement. In particular, the principals identified the relationship between the teacher and their students as the most significant theme within this discourse. The sub-themes noted that the attitude of the teacher was a critical factor in the relationship that formed between teacher and student. Teacher expectations of Māori students and the need for teachers to adjust to the individual learning requirements of students were also identified as critical factors.

Within the discourse of relationships, principals also identified the need for schools to build and maintain relationships with their communities. This included the need for schools to build and maintain better relationships with the homes of Māori students. Getting to know the backgrounds of Māori students and facilitating better representation of Māori parents on schools’ Boards of Trustees, were two solutions put forward by principals. The third theme identified within the discourse of relationships related to schools’ needing to identify how they might facilitate a more responsive relationship that recognised Māori students’ culture, taking cognisance of Māori cultural aspirations and notions of belonging. They identified that developing more culturally responsive relationships requires schools to build Māori pedagogies into their curriculum and programmes. This type of initiative was seen by principals as a means of enhancing the relationship between Māori students and staff, and as a means of gaining positive support from parents of Māori students for school based initiatives.

The second discourse identified by the principals as being influential to Māori students' educational achievement related to structural and systemic issues. Within this discourse, three themes were identified; structural issues within the school, external systemic issues that impact on schools, and curriculum issues. Related to the theme of structural issues within the school, were financial constraints, the traditional perception of schools, staffing issues and the need to create a safe environment for children at school. The second theme of structural issues external, but connected to the school, identified issues such as the transition between primary and secondary schooling and the role of whānau within school initiatives. The third theme, which identified curriculum-related structural issues that influenced Māori educational achievement, included the establishment of alternative sites of education, the establishment of homework centres, the creation of achievement initiatives, the problems of maintaining engagement levels for Māori children and the positive impact of the new NCEA qualification.

The discourse that the principals identified as having the least influence on Māori students' educational achievement was the discourse of the child and the home. Nevertheless, within this theme the principals did identify two influences, these being the difference between the culture of the home and the culture of the school, and the socio-economic status of the home. The first of these influences identified the difficulties Māori students had when participating in environments that had dominating or conflicting cultural expectations and norms. An example highlighting the differing cultural expectations of the school and the Māori students' homes was the perception that student absenteeism was more readily accepted and permitted from the homes of Māori students. The second major influence within this discourse was the socio-economic status of the home. Principals suggested that Māori students from families who were affected by low socio-economic status tended to live more transient lifestyles and often had inadequate nutrition.

Analysis of the Teachers' Discourses

INTRODUCTION

The teachers' narratives from the four targeted schools were analysed in terms of three discourses: the discourse of the child and the home, the discourse of relationships and the discourse of structure, using Table 3.2.

Factors that the teachers saw as having an influence on the educational achievement of Māori students were identified from their narratives. This data is presented in Table 3.10. Figure 3.5 shows this information in graph form. In addition, within the discourses a number of themes and sub-themes have been identified. Each sub-theme (or theme when there is no sub-theme) is then illustrated by the use of actual quotes taken from the teachers' narratives.

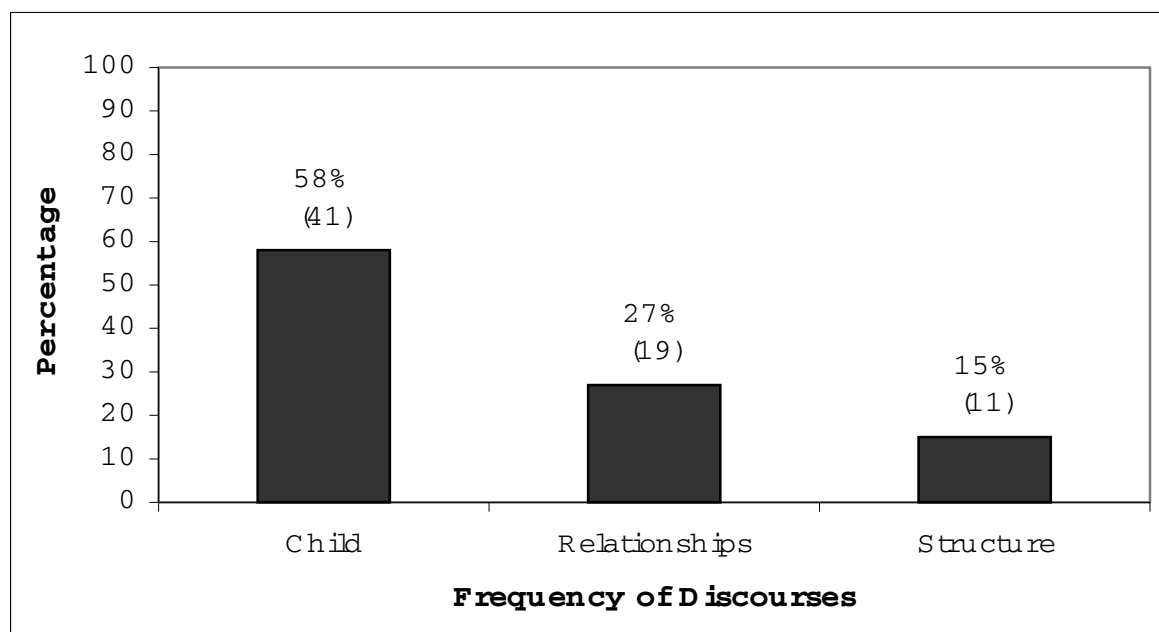
Table 3.10: Ranking of Influences on Māori Student Achievement from Teachers' Narratives

Discourse Type	Freq
Discourse of the child/home	
Home	
Behaviour of Māori students outside school	4
Socio-economic problems associated with student mobility and transience	4
Home background	3
Lack of role models for Māori students	3
Lack of positive parental support for Māori students	2
Lack of access to resources	2
Absenteeism	2
Access to drugs and alcohol	1
Work outside school	1
School	
Students disorganised and not prepared for learning	3
Māori have low-level aspirations	3
Disillusioned teachers because of constant hassles with students	3
Māori have a poor attitude to learning	2
Peer pressure limits Māori students' progress	2
Māori student achievement levels are low	2
Control of students is a constant problem	2
Unused talent	2
TOTAL	41
Discourse of relationships	
Student-teacher relationship was important	3
Student involvement in planning leads to less issues with discipline	2
Positive feedback for academic work and behaviour	2
Students engage when topics are related to their own experiences	2
Students respect and understand issues or boundaries of tikanga	2
Teachers self-identification of positive/negative attitudes to Māori students	2
School-community relationship is not very good	2
Differences between Māori and non-Māori teachers about academic expectations and aspirations	2
School-family relationship was important	1
Teachers knowledge of local culture and history	1
TOTAL	19
Discourse of structure/systems	
School structure and culture are different	4
Values/Standards conflicts	3
High turnover of students allowed by Tomorrow's Schools	2
Teaching has become a chore because of changes to curriculum and assessment, eg. NCEA	1
High teacher turnover	1
TOTAL	11

NB. 1. The highest possible score by item is 4 (i.e. the number of schools represented here).

2. These figures represent group (not individual) responses.

Figure 3.5: Influences on Māori achievement as identified in teachers' discourses



The data in Table 3.10 indicates that the teacher groups tended to problematise Māori students' achievement and to locate the source of these problems outside of their own interactions with Māori students. Further, over half of the identified influences are explained in terms of student/home deficiencies (deficit theorising), while a smaller number explain the problem in terms of structural issues. Overall, some 80% of teacher utterances explained the problems in terms of factors over which they feel they have little, if any, control. Such positionings have serious implications for Māori students' educational achievement in that they are non-agentic and teachers feel there is little they can do to affect change. Indeed such positionings can be seen as teachers abrogating responsibility for effecting change because the causes of the problem are outside the area of teachers' agency.

These positionings have major implications for attempts to bring about change. Unless these positionings by teachers are addressed first, little change can occur. In other words, it is teachers positioning themselves in non-agentic positions through their deficit theorising that is a major influence on Māori children's academic and other achievement. This positioning creates feelings of helplessness amongst teachers, feelings of inability to bring about effective change, and results in low expectations of Māori students' achievement. Low expectation of Māori students' achievement in turn creates a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure and low achievement levels. However, in no way should this be seen as a reversal of "blaming the students" to "blaming the teachers". Given the history of colonialism in this country and the preponderance of deficit theorising amongst educational researchers and theorists (as presented in chapter 1), such positionings on the part of teachers is understandable. Rather than being an attempt to blame teachers, this analysis is an attempt to locate teacher theorising within the wider historical context of inter-cultural relationship in New Zealand education as is explained in chapter 1 of this report. The professional development model developed as part of this project (chapter 5) seeks to change this focus, providing teachers with vicarious, non-confrontational experiences wherein they can critically reflect upon their own deficit theorising and its implications for the learning of Māori students. In so doing, they are able to re-position their own theorising to the agentic spaces provided by the discourse of relationships and interactions. In this way

teachers are able to re-position themselves theoretically and in so doing provide the cognitive conditions necessary for the development of a culturally appropriate and responsive approach to teaching.

THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE TEACHERS' DISCOURSES

The analysis of the teachers' narratives contained in Table 3.10 identified the main influences on Māori students educational achievement were mostly issues associated with the perceived deficits of the Māori child and their home. To a lesser extent, teachers identified relationship issues as having an influence on Māori students' educational achievement, while they saw the discourse of structure and systems as being the least influential on Māori students' educational achievement.

NB. The number following the thematic heading is the number of groups who identified this theme (n=4).

Discourse One: The Discourse of the Child and Home

Teachers positioned themselves within discourse one by identifying these issues as having the most influence on Māori student educational achievement (58% of responses). In particular, teachers identified two specific themes within this discourse: home (that being the problems students bring with them to school from home or outside school), and school (that being the problems students cause when they are at school).

Theme 1: Problems that Students Bring With Them to School From Home or Community

- **Socio-economic problems associated with student mobility and transience (4 group responses)**

Teachers identified that the socio-economic status of many Māori families negatively influenced Māori educational achievement. This was due to the high turnover of, in particular, Māori students who either shifted with their families from school to school, or who were shifted by their families, dependent on what was happening within their family at any one time:

The way they attempt to solve their socio-economic problems is by way of shifting. Some other cultures don't have those resources; they don't send someone off to auntie. You notice it because there are more of them. There are more Māori around here in that lower socio-economic group. (School 2)

They go backward and forward depending on what is happening in their families. Stay with aunties, then go back home... Transient to a certain extent that they go backwards and forwards. I think the young Māori students here are more transient than perhaps the other cultural groups. (School 2)

- **Home background (3 group responses)**

Teachers identified that the home environment contributed to Māori students' lack of achievement at school:

Well I believe that it is the home background to a large extent, I believe that it is parental expectation. They don't turn up to school on a regular basis. They are more interested in things outside the classroom rather than

achieving academically... their determination to get some academic success is lacking and it is that which I find very frustrating. I feel it comes from the home and I am not criticising the home, I am just saying that it's throughout Māoridom to a large extent. (School 2)

- **Lack of access to resources (2 group responses)**

Teachers identified that students' lack of access to suitable and appropriate resources, such as pens and paper, influenced Māori students' educational achievement:

If they don't have the right gear – books, PE stuff. All of these things make it difficult at school... No place for them to do homework at home. No resources at home either like dictionaries, magazines, computers, pens, books, etc. (School 1)

- **Access to drugs and alcohol (1 group response)**

Teachers identified that drugs and alcohol, and the availability and use of these substances by Māori students influenced their achievement at school:

This... form that I teach... they are sexually active, they are drug active and they are alcohol active. In all three, and I teach them first period Monday, they are 'whacked out' of their brain still or hung over from the party. (School 2)

- **Work outside school (1 group response)**

Teachers identified that student employment outside of school was also a negative influence on Māori students' educational achievement:

Setting homework is difficult and they can't achieve without it because they're all working straight after school, several nights a week and at the weekend. (School 2)

- **Absenteeism (2 group responses)**

Related to the poor socio-economic status, transience and mobility of Māori students was absenteeism. Many of the teachers felt that due to these issues, Māori students were missing large chunks of their academic learning time, which negatively impacted upon their achievement. Teachers also identified that community cultural activities, particularly tangi, were problematic in that Māori students missed out on their education as a result of attending these types of activities:

It is the fact that they have so much time out of the classroom. They come back into the classroom [after an absence] and most of the time they're not motivated enough to see the teacher to catch up. (School 1)

- **Lack of role models for Māori students (3 group responses)**

Teachers saw the lack of positive role models for Māori students as contributing to the ways Māori students behaved, or misbehaved at school, which in turn influenced Māori students' educational achievement:

Well they [Māori] lack good models at home – too much alcohol and weed. Too many late nights. They lack the desire to come to school. (School 1)

I just feel some haven't really had the role models in their life that maybe they should have. They aren't focused, they are not as disciplined. (School 4)

- **Lack of positive parental support for Māori students (2 group responses)**

Teachers felt that Māori parents were not supportive of or willing to invest time or money in their children's education. Some teachers felt that this was largely due to the parents' prior negative experiences at school themselves, and in the case of one family, this was the result of the parent's resistance to the "Pākehā system":

There's a big burly fellow... the kids are going to be mirror images of him eventually... full of muscle but anti the system. Those kids – who were very talented when they were very young kids, are now turning into muscle men, dangerous sort of people. I think they are reflecting their dad. He beats his son up to control him... The dad's stropky, against anything he perceives as the Pākehā system. The kids pick it up second hand. (School 4)

You hear the parents talking about how much time and money is being wasted on their schooling. (School 1)

- **Behaviour of Māori students outside school (4 group responses)**

Teachers identified that student behaviour outside of school was a major influence on Māori students' educational achievement:

Our children [Māori students] are quite aboriginal in their behaviours outside of school... just like a pack of wolves... some really tough little hombres, they needle adults including me. Once I'm outside of this school, I'm fair game just like any other person in this town. When it comes back into school they quite often have trouble adjusting their behaviour... this is the huge contributor to the down side of learning. (School 2)

This teacher and indeed many of the teachers alluded to feeling threatened by the presence of some Māori students.

Theme 2: Problem That Students Cause When They are at School

- **Māori have low-level aspirations (3 group responses)**

Some teachers felt that Māori students had low-level aspirations for their own achievement, only coming to school for sports, or non-academic pursuits:

They don't have any ambition to do well - except on the rugby field. (School 1)

I get lots of good folk in my classes, I think they come from fine families, but they are not highly motivated to succeed and it worries me a lot. (School 4)

- **Māori have a poor attitude to learning (2 group responses)**

Teachers also identified that many Māori students had a poor attitude to learning. This was shown either through a lack of motivation in class, or through what was commonly described by teachers as a "bad attitude":

A lack of desire to learn – for some reason “aggro” between some Māori students and some teachers. Values! We don’t know them and they don’t know us, a barrier seems to come with them from somewhere and it’s already there when they walk in the door. (School 2)

The chip on the shoulder. There’s a certain amount of arrogance there, we can break it down after a period of time but we’ve got students here in form seven where it’s just never gone. (School 2)

- **Māori student achievement levels are low (2 group responses)**

Teachers identified that Māori achievement levels were low. However, many teachers believed that this was not due to a lack of ability by Māori students, but rather seen as being a result of child/home-related problems, for example: bad attitude, lack of motivation, lack of parental support and positive role models:

There is a big chunk of their potential that is not being dealt with. It seems to me that the inevitable corollary of that is that we are going to turn them into third class citizens.... I do think they have a higher chance of being the workers for, rather than the bosses of, and that’s my worry. (School 4)

- **Unused talent (2 group responses)**

Many of the teachers’ expressed frustration that Māori students’ ability was wasted or unused. In particular, the teachers identified that the notion of success and being singled out as an achieving individual was perceived as uncool and not something that many Māori students aspired to:

Most of the Māori students are... scared of putting themselves on a pedestal and showing what talents they’ve got. They see success as a negative thing rather than a positive thing. (School 1)

I don’t think it’s their natural skill range to pep up and pump up. It is a bit of a pity. I could see a scenario of three or four really motivated people in that entrepreneurial sort of area... It would be great... we don’t get it going when those good things happen. (School 4)

- **Peer pressure limits Māori students’ progress (2 group responses)**

Teachers also identified that peer pressure was an influence on Māori students’ educational achievement. Teachers identified a culture of unwillingness to succeed, as identified above, particularly in terms of not wanting to stand out from the crowd and from one’s peers:

There is a huge peer group influence. You have got a small nucleus of kids that are really hanging out there on an edge and then you have got a whole lot of kids that like to think that they are out there. (School 2)

I just think it’s not cool to succeed. They get a lot of hassle from their peers when they do well. (School 1)

- **Students disorganised and not prepared for learning (3 group responses)**

Teachers identified that Māori students were not organised for their classroom activities, which meant either they did not bring the right books to class, or they just did not bring anything with them at all. This left teachers with the impression that Māori students were not interested in learning or engaging in learning activities while at school:

They don't have the right classroom gear. One book for everything and it's different each day. They are disorganised. (School 1)

A large number of students don't come to school prepared to do any work in any way. I mean you can see them coming down the road, none of them carrying a bag, none of them carrying anything... They are certainly not carrying books, or pens or pencils, and I think this has a major effect as to whether they can learn or not, because we always have to supply them with... whatever. (School 4)

- **Control of students is a constant problem (2 group responses)**

Negative factors associated with the child/home compounded teachers' ability to "control" students, particularly Māori students. This made teaching more difficult, as the teachers felt that they spent more time controlling children than teaching them. Teachers also identified that increasing numbers of Māori students were more aware of their rights (as children, and as students) and were not afraid of asserting these rights, particularly in relation to disciplinary issues:

The students are far more aware of their so-called rights. It has done a big swing that way and if you say or do something to a student and if there is any aggression the first thing they do is turn around and say 'I am going to get my dad onto you for abuse or assault.' Your hands are tied when you have students that will turn around and not accept discipline. (School 4)

- **Disillusioned teachers because of constant hassles with students (3 group responses)**

Due to pressures brought on by "deficiencies" (either child-related or home-related), the teachers identified that they were becoming increasingly dissatisfied and disillusioned with teaching as a profession:

Teaching has become a chore. It's not enjoyable anymore and I believe I'm a good teacher, have been a good teacher but some of these third form classes we have to deal with, you are just battling continuously to try and achieve something. (School 2)

I am putting my full energy into trying to get my kids who have got certain problems, to their succeeding. I am drained at the end of the day and I think all of us are. (School 4)

Discourse Two: Discourse of Relationships

This discourse, concerning the relationships between teacher and student and how this related to Māori student learning and achievement, was not seen by the teachers as being as influential on Māori students' educational achievement as the themes already identified in discourse one. Three themes were identified within this discourse. The first theme relates to issues of and respect for cultural

knowledge and aspirations of Māori students. The second theme relates to student engagement and involvement in learning, while the third theme relates to outcomes of having positive relationships between teachers and students.

Theme 1: Issues of and Respect for Cultural Knowledge and Aspirations

- **Students respect and understand issues or boundaries of tikanga (2 group responses)**

Some teachers (notably Māori) identified that Māori students understood and respected tikanga boundaries, which resulted in a more cooperative classroom environment:

Most of the students in the... room have close contacts with tikanga. They are used to karakia... there is an inbuilt expectation of how people behave in terms of tikanga. The...group I expect to behave and their tuakana make sure they do. (School 1)

- **Teachers self-identification of positive/negative attitudes to Māori (2 group responses)**

The teachers identified both their positive and negative attitudes towards Māori. These were shown through negative stereotypical images of Māori, through teachers' emphasis on ethnicity as being a non-issue and through the identification by some teachers that they did view Māori students differently:

Because disruptive Māori students are so noticeable in class, they're in your face... I never thought of there being any Māori in the "good" group... Of course there are, but their "Māoriness" or whatever you want to call it is not in my face period after period. This fact about my attitude to Māori scares me. (School 1)

I don't care what their ethnicity is. Either they take up the opportunity or they don't. We shouldn't sort out kids on ethnic grounds for attention. The fact remains that more Māori play up in class or get kicked out because they just don't know how to behave and they don't want to learn. (School 1)

- **Teachers knowledge of local culture and history (1 group response)**

Teachers acknowledged the positive influence on Māori students' educational achievement by knowing the local culture and history. However, those teachers who did identify this theme felt that this type of knowledge facilitated the building of positive relationships, particularly with Māori students:

Like I come from T. and its surprising the ones that say oh we have whānau... there and straight away you're kind of in, you know, or you knew a relative years ago, or a child with the name N. comes into the class and you say oh old T. family. You know, its acknowledging culture, not just acknowledging a behaviour. (School 3)

- **Differences between Māori/non-Māori teachers about Māori academic expectations and aspirations (2 group responses)**

This response came from the narratives of Māori teachers. In particular, these teachers noted a frustration at their colleagues' low-level expectations of Māori students, which often resulted in Māori

students reacting negatively in classroom contexts, as well as creating a negative context for them as Māori teachers:

Too many teachers don't expect enough from Māori students. (School 1)

If there's a negative culture about being Māori in the school...then you're fighting that culture before you've even done anything wrong, and before they've done anything right or wrong. (School 2)

Theme 2: Student Engagement and Involvement in Learning

- **Student involvement in planning leads to less issues with discipline (2 group responses)**

Teachers recognised that by establishing good relationships, issues such as discipline and participation in class activities was less problematic:

If students are allowed to have some input into how to learn something they take over making sure it works. Discipline is really easy. (School 1)

- **Positive feedback for academic work and behaviour (2 group responses)**

Teachers also indicated the need for providing positive and appropriate feedback to Māori students on their work and behaviour. This ensured that boundaries were set for the class and that students had expectations of them, which were recognised and rewarded as appropriate:

All the kids contribute. We have a rule, "no put downs!" (School 2)

If we all have the same expectations even if they are draconian the kids know where they stand. They do get recognised positively when they behave appropriately. (School 1)

- **Students engage when topics are related to their own experiences (2 group responses)**

Good relationships between Māori students and teachers recognised the culture of the child, and allowed the experiences of the child to be valued within the classroom context. Teachers identified that if they encouraged this within their classrooms, Māori students were more likely to become engaged with their learning:

Relate it to something that they are going to understand. You know their life experiences, their home experiences, their whānau experiences. (School 4)

I think that once they can see things from their point of view, they get involved a lot more and that's when it works well for them. (School 1)

Theme 3: Outcomes of Positive Relationships

- **Student-teacher relationship was important (3 group responses)**

Teachers indicated that student-teacher relationships were important in the classroom, in that without good relationships there was little basis on which to establish a caring, learning environment:

I honestly believe too that the relationship makes such a big difference with Māori students and finding out early on what they're interested in... you know they'll be interested in the lesson because you're interested in them. (School 3)

- **School-community relationship is not very good (2 group responses)**

The teachers also identified that there was a lack of a positive relationship between the school and the community. However, this relationship focused on the perception of the community and its (negative) impact on the school, rather than whether the school had a good relationship with the community or not:

There is a great perception that K. has failure, so get out of it... We have a greater range of courses here. We have a greater range in academic, sport and cultural successes but they get out of this town. (School 4)

Until our kids have pride in our town, they are never going to have pride in our school. (School 4)

- **School-family relationship was important (1 group response)**

Contrary to the negative association of the school's community, this sub-theme was identified in terms of how a teacher's relationship with the student's family could impact positively on Māori students' educational achievement. Specifically, this theme identified notions of communication and shared responsibility in the students' learning:

It's really helpful to actually contact those family members very early on in the year and introduce yourself, just as a matter of course. I think it's really good to establish that communication and I think the parents and the grandparents all really appreciate that too. (School 2)

Discourse Three: Problematic Discourse of Structure

The third discourse that emerged from the analysis of the teachers' narratives was the structure and system of the school. The teachers' narratives identified three main themes within this discourse. The first theme relates to the differing values between the school, the teachers and the school's students/community. Theme two relates to curriculum demands and how this has impacted on teaching, while the third theme relates to staff/student turnover allowed as a result of government changes to the education system.

Theme 1: Differing Values

- **School structure and culture are different (4 group responses)**

One of the major themes identified by the teachers within this discourse was the fact that the school structure and its culture was, according to the teachers, perceived by Māori students as being irrelevant to their needs:

The nature of society has changed... But the structure of the school, the face of the school, the public perception of the New Zealand secondary school has not changed. (School 2)

I think a lot of students look into a structure like ours, which is increasingly aged, and seems to be non related to where the students are coming from. They don't respect it... They ask repeatedly, "What for? What for?"... because it is irrelevant. (School 2)

- **Values/Standards conflicts (3 group responses)**

Teachers also identified a difference between the values and standards of the school and the home, noting that there was often conflict between the two, which made the teachers' job more difficult as they were often expected to implement programmes that they had identified as being incapable of meeting the needs of Māori students:

I think part of the difficulties we have in the teaching world, like all the rest of the world, is that we don't have common values at the moment. (School 4)

They haven't passed what the school sees as milestones... They're put through repeat or alternative programmes. We've students in Year 13 doing fifth form for the third time. So in actual fact, while they're here, we don't make them feel any better about themselves in school. In fact if anything we're just heightening their already problematic attitude. (School 2)

Theme 2: Curriculum Demands

- **Teaching has become a chore because of changes to curriculum and assessment, e.g. NCEA (1 group response)**

The teachers identified that they suffered increased stress due to the introduction of the new NCEA qualifications and changes made to the curriculum and assessment processes. These changes, according to the teachers, meant that they focused more on fulfilling administrative requirements than focusing on teaching the students. Furthermore, teachers also felt that the introduction of the new NCEA qualifications would not cater well for the needs of Māori students:

The whole work situation's going to be an enormous problem with NCEA because once again a lot of Māori students they actually work very well in class, get on with it, but as soon as it involves independent research at home or spread over a long period of time, they have to keep control of materials and resources, that's where it all falls down. I mean how are they going to manage? (School 2)

Theme 3: High Turnover of Staff and Students

- **High turnover of students allowed by Tomorrow's Schools (2 group responses)**

Teachers identified the ease with which students were able to and did move from school to school, either due to family circumstances or also due to the school's ability to move students on if they did not adjust to the culture of the school. The teachers identified this as being influential to Māori students' educational achievement:

These kids move. They change schools. It's not uncommon for a kid to have had nine school experiences by the time he gets here. (School 2)

- **High teacher turnover (1 group response)**

Furthermore, teachers identified that increased workloads and changes to the education system in recent years had resulted in a high teacher turnover. As a result of this high teacher turnover, the teachers noted that it was harder for student-teacher relationships to be established and maintained:

The school has a high staff turnover and the students know that. The longer you are here, as a wide generalisation, the better you get on. (School 2)

SUMMARY

Contrary to the students, those parenting and the principals, most teachers identified factors from within the discourse of the child/home as having the greatest influence on Māori students' educational achievement. In particular, teachers perceived deficits within the home, or problems that Māori students brought with them to school from home and how Māori students behave at school, as being the major influence on Māori students' educational achievement. In terms of influences outside of the school, teachers identified problems of home background and socio-economic problems that caused mobility and transience of Māori students. Deficit influences were further exacerbated by Māori students' lack of access to resources, inadequate nutrition, condoned absenteeism, access to drugs and alcohol, work outside of school, and inadequate parental support and role models. On top of all that, there was the issue of Māori students' reported negative behaviour outside of school. In addition, from within the discourse of child/home, teachers identified the problems that Māori students cause when they are at school. These arguments included Māori student underachievement as a result of their lack of motivation and behavioural issues that are caused by low-level aspirations of Māori students. Teachers also spoke of the negative influence of peers (Māori), and the wasted talent as a result of Māori students being unwilling to stand out from the crowd (a perceived cultural issue). Teachers also identified that Māori students were disorganised, not prepared for their classes or for learning and difficult to discipline. Given that teachers believe this to be so, it is little wonder that there is a great deal of disillusionment among teachers in the teaching profession as a result of these constant pressures.

The teachers as a group were less convinced that relationships were of importance to Māori students' educational achievement than the deficits they understood to be caused by the child/home. However, three themes were identified within this discourse by a small minority of teachers: issues of and respect for cultural knowledge and aspirations, student engagement and involvement in learning, and outcomes of positive relationships. Under the first theme (issues of and respect for cultural knowledge and aspirations), arguments were identified by Māori teachers that were related to students having respect for boundaries when they were associated with tikanga (as opposed to school rules). Other teachers spoke of reinforcing both negative and positive Māori stereotypes, and that teachers could build positive relationships with Māori students if they knew local Māori history and culture. Some of these teachers were also aware of the need to recognise differences between Māori and non-Māori aspirations and expectations. The second theme (student engagement and involvement in learning) identified how Māori student involvement in planning classroom activities led to less discipline-related issues. Teachers also identified the need to give positive feedback for student work and behaviour, and the positive engagement of Māori students in their work if the lesson was related to Māori cultural experiences and knowledge. The third theme, relating to outcomes of positive relationships with Māori students identified the importance of student-teacher relationships, the need to overcome poor school-community relationships, and the importance of school-family relationships.

The discourse of structure and systems was identified by the teachers as having the least influence on Māori students' educational achievement. Within this discourse, three themes were identified. The first theme related to differing values and identified some of the problems that arose when the knowledge and culture of the schools was vastly different to what Māori students knew or had experienced and perceived as relevant. The second theme related to curriculum demands placed upon teachers. A sub-theme included the identification by teachers that there was less focus on teaching and more on administrative and assessment tasks, particularly as a result of the introduction of new

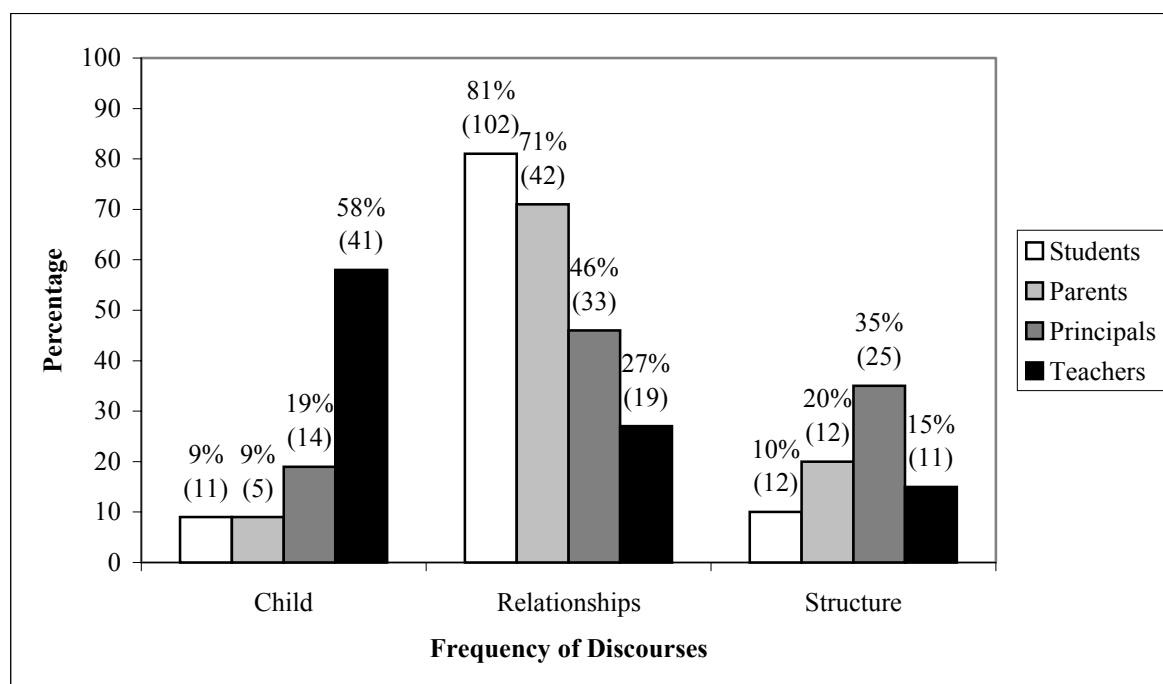
qualifications such as NCEA. The third theme, student and staff turnover, identified that, as a result of changes to the education system, student mobility between schools had become easier (as a result of Tomorrow's Schools) and teacher turnover was higher due to increased pressures within the job.

Overall, however, the teachers argued that issues from within the discourse of the perceived deficits of the child/home were the most significant influences on Māori students' educational achievement.

OVERALL SUMMARY OF INFLUENCES ON MĀORI STUDENTS' EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Figure 3.6 illustrates the differences in experience and understanding between the four groups of participants. It is clear from these data that the influences people identify varies according to whom one is and where one positions oneself in relation to the three discourses. It clearly shows that there are two broad groupings. The first is those who identify that from their experiences, relationships between teachers and students (and others involved in the educational community) have the greatest influence on Māori students' educational achievement. The second group comprises those who identify the main influences on Māori students' educational achievement as being Māori students themselves, their homes and/or the structure of the schools. What is problematic for education is that it is mainly teachers who position themselves in any significant numbers within this second group. In so doing, a large proportion of the teachers in both the scoping exercise and the longer-term study positioned themselves within the discourse of the child and their home by pathologising Māori students' lived experiences and by explaining their lack of educational achievement in deficit terms. Further, those who position themselves here see very few solutions and see very little that they can do to solve the problems. In terms of agency then, this is a very non-agentic position in that there is very little an individual can do from this position other than change the child or the family. Further, there is little responsibility the speaker can take for the problem or the solutions.

Fig. 3.6: Influences on Māori achievement as identified in the discourses



When speakers identify that the major influences on Māori students' educational achievement is the structure of the school or of the education system in its broadest sense, they often identify again that these factors are beyond their control. This is also a non-agentic position for most speakers as there is mostly very little they can do about class sizes, timetables, curriculum frameworks etc. This position tends to be one where the speakers blame someone or something else outside of their area of influence and as a result the speakers attest that they have very little responsibility for the outcomes of these influences. Speakers who theorise from within both these discourses tend to identify the major influences on Māori students' educational achievement as being outside of the classroom, beyond the control, influence or responsibility of the speaker and in fact are caused by someone or something else, solutions being with other people and not with the speaker.

In contrast, the third and central position is when the speakers identify that the major influences on Māori students' educational achievement come under the broad heading of relationships and interactions. These include teacher-student, student-student, teacher-parent-student, school-community, and so on. These speakers understand that within this space, explanations that seek to address the power differentials and imbalances between the various participants in the relationships can be managed better. Speakers who position themselves in this space tend to accept responsibility for the part in the relationships and are clear that they have agency (or efficacy, Gibbs, 2000), in that they are an active participant in educational relationships. Further, speakers who position themselves here have a personal understanding that they can bring about change in the educational achievement of Māori students if more attention were given to relationships and interactions. It is significant that people who position themselves in this space are able to provide almost endless solutions to the problems, in contrast to the very limited solutions that those who position themselves within the other two discourses can provide.

As it was the students (and those parenting and the principals) who positioned themselves within this discourse, and who as a result were able to offer many useful solutions to the problems of Māori students' educational achievement, it was to these people who we turned for ideas from which we developed the Effective Teaching Profile that is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: The Effective Teaching Profile

Development of the Effective Teaching Profile

The Effective Teaching Profile was developed from the students' narratives with support from the narratives of the parents, the principals and some of their teachers. The Effective Teaching Profile was then used to provide direction and /or a model on which to base the professional development undertaken in this project.

From the interviews with the students (for an example see Appendix B), it is clear that they were able to articulate their concerns about the majority of current teaching practices, particularly in relation to themselves as Māori students. In addition, the students were also equally as articulate in providing possible solutions to improved teaching practices that would enable them to engage more effectively with learning in the classroom. The solutions are categorised here into various sets of characteristics of the Effective Teaching Profile. The students' suggestions were then aligned with the current literature on the subject and recent research results from our own work and that of others. The findings of two previous studies into effective teaching practice for Māori students; *Te Toi Huarewa* (Bishop et al, 2001b) and *AIMHI* (Haw & Hill, 2000) have been used extensively. Wherever relevant, we have indicated from which study or text the specific characteristic can be identified, however, this is not to deny that there is a great deal of overlap between the two studies. We started with *Te Toi Huarewa*, added any others from the longer, more intensive *AIMHI* study then thirdly added any extras from our own current study and other literature.¹²

The following pages include:

- a) the Effective Teaching Profile;
- b) the sets of Effective Teaching characteristics (with reference to the research reports and literature where more details can be found); and
- c) a description of each characteristic which is illustrated by selected quotes from the narratives.

THE EFFECTIVE TEACHING PROFILE

Effective teachers of Māori students create a culturally appropriate and responsive context for learning in their classroom.

In doing so they demonstrate the following **understandings**:

- a) they positively and vehemently reject deficit theorising as a means of explaining Māori students' educational achievement levels (and professional development projects need to ensure that this happens); and

¹² Of course, there is a great deal of literature on this topic, however, we have restricted ourselves to demonstrating references which are particularly relevant to Māori students in Aotearoa.

- b) they know and understand how to bring about change in Māori students' educational achievement and are professionally committed to doing so (and professional development projects need to ensure that this happens);

in the following **observable ways**:

- 1) Manaakitanga: They care for the students as culturally-located human beings above all else.
(Mana refers to authority and aki, the task of urging some one to act. It refers to the task of building and nurturing a supportive and loving environment).
- 2) Mana motuhake: They care for the performance of their students.
(In modern times mana has taken on various meanings such as legitimation and authority and can also relate to an individual's or a group's ability to participate at the local and global level. Mana motuhake involves the development of personal or group identity and independence).
- 3) Ngā tūranga takitahi me ngā mana whakahaere: They are able to create a secure, well-managed learning environment.
(Ngā tūranga takitahi me nga mana whakahaere: involves specific individual roles and responsibilities that are required in order to achieve individual and group outcomes).
- 4) Wānanga: They are able to engage in effective teaching interactions with Māori students as Māori.
(As well as being known as Māori centres of learning wānanga as a learning forum involves a rich and dynamic sharing of knowledge. With this exchange of views ideas are given life and spirit through dialogue, debate and careful consideration in order to reshape and accommodate new knowledge).
- 5) Ako: They can use strategies that promote effective teaching interactions and relationships with their learners.
(Ako means to learn as well as to teach. It is both the acquisition of knowledge and the processing and imparting of knowledge. More importantly ako is a teaching-learning practice that is culturally specific and appropriate to Māori pedagogy).
- 6) Kōtahitanga: They promote, monitor and reflect on outcomes that in turn lead to improvements in educational achievement for Māori students.
(Kotahitanga is a collaborative response towards a commonly held vision, goal or other such purpose or outcome).

SET 1: MANAAKITANGA: CARING FOR THE PERSON (AFTER GAY, 2000, P. 47)

Effective teachers of Māori students demonstrate on a daily basis that they care for the students as culturally located human beings above all else. It was made clear to us that this was a fundamental prerequisite for teachers, a base on which all other characteristics rested. Therefore effective teachers:

- treat students and whānau with respect leading to reciprocity (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- are compassionate (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- understand the world of the students as Māori and as teenagers (Hawk & Hill, 2000, 4.1)
- have a sense of humour (Bishop et al, 2001b)

- can be trusted – they keep confidences (Hawk & Hill, 2000, 4.9)
- are giving of themselves (Hawk & Hill, 2000, 4.4)
- act in a just and fair manner (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- are friendly and firm in relation to students (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- learn and ensure Māori names are pronounced properly (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- actions are culturally located (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- participate with students in a variety of ways (Hawk & Hill, 2000, 4.6)
- want to be in the classroom with the students. They are passionate about being with the students more than anything else (Bishop et al, 2001b)

Description of the Characteristics of Effective Teachers of Māori students

Below is a brief description of each characteristic and evidence for each characteristic is provided from the narratives of experience.

Effective Teachers:

- **treat students and whānau with respect which leads to reciprocity**

Effective teachers treat their students with respect and also emphasise that this respect must be reciprocal between students, whānau and visitors (Bishop et al, 2001b, p. 192).

The teachers that they have developed close relationships with have been ones that have stopped to encourage them and actually commented and treated them as an individual, actually had the time to just talk to them individually. And they have responded to that. (Parent, School 3)

- **are compassionate**

Compassion is expressed in Māori ways in terms of awhiawhi (Bishop et al, 2001b p. 192). This means that teachers create an environment that is caring. This includes not tolerating put downs of one another.

She [teacher] created this whānau feel. The way she spoke to the girls, you know...sort of kind and not putting down, and if she needed to growl well she'd growl, so it wasn't all pretend, she was just like a Māori kuia. I think they liked that. It gave them security. (Parent, School 3)

- **understand the world of the students as teenagers and as Māori**

Effective teachers have a good understanding of the lives of their students and the students know that they have and they value that highly (Hawk & Hill, 2000, p. 16).

Just being able to relate to us, like how we are...it would be cool if a teacher...you know how they are higher than we are, but like if a teacher could come down to where we are and teach us and not think that they're all high and mighty and you have to listen to them or else you're going to get in

trouble, but teachers that are just there for the kids and not just for the money. (Engaged Student, School 2)

- **have a sense of humour**

Effective teachers have a good sense of humour, which is valued and ever present (Bishop et al, 2001b, p. 192).

They have to laugh with you instead of just sitting there, but still keeping us in line. Keep the class in order, but still laughing with you...that helps you like the subject. (Engaged Student, School 2)

- **can be trusted to keep confidences**

Effective teachers who keep their word and are consistent are respected because there is no ambiguity and their word can be trusted (Hawk & Hill, 2000, p. 21).

You don't go there for her to get the police but you go for support for someone to talk to. And they tell. It is supposed to be confidential. So you don't go there anymore. (Non-engaged Student, School 3)

- **are giving of themselves**

This characteristic refers to the ways in which teachers share aspects of their lives, their feelings, their failings and their vulnerabilities with the students (Hawk & Hill, 2000, p. 18).

He always came and saw our whānau at home, more than once during the year. He invited the whānau into our room anytime...He was choice. (Non-engaged student, School 1)

- **act in a fair and just manner**

Effective teachers emphasise the importance of fairness and justice both in their own personal attitudes and behaviours (Bishop et al, 2001b, p. 192).

One day my teacher was so disappointed with what I'd done...It was terrible....At the end of the day she let the others go and we had a talk. She was sad about what I had done and she told me it was a shock to her. I cried...You know she didn't yell or anything. I didn't do that bad thing again. (Non-engaged Student, School 1)

- **are friendly and firm in relation to students**

Effective teachers have good relationships with their students, and are consistent in their relationships with students.

I think it is a good thing when they want to get to know you but they still need to set those boundaries. They need to let you know that they are not going to let you go too far. (Engaged Student, School 3)

- **learn and ensure Māori names are pronounced properly**

Effective teachers understand and respect children's names and make honest efforts to pronounce them correctly.

One of the teachers, like, she can say my name right one day and then the next she says it wrong. Yeah, I think some of them are trying. It's the ones that don't even try. (Non-engaged Student, School 3)

- **ensure actions are culturally located**

Successful participation for Māori children in the classroom results from teachers theorising about the centrality of culture in the classroom. From this position, teachers create learning contexts characterised by a pattern of learning and teaching relationships and classroom interactions wherein young people are able to bring who they are to the classroom and make sense of the materials and strategies used in ways that affirm their own emerging identities (Bishop et al, 2001b, p. 13).

The teacher I liked best wasn't Māori but he could have been. He knew all about our stuff. Like he knew how to say my name. He never did dumb things like sit on tables...He never made a fuss...He expected us to work and behave well. We went on picnics and class trips and the whānau came along. We planned our lessons together. (Non-engaged Student, School 1)

- **participate with students in a variety of ways**

Students appreciate and enjoy their teacher joining in an activity as it demonstrates teacher attitudes towards them and their learning (Hawk & Hill, 2000, p. 20).

They are friendly, and they might pop in little jokes every now and then just when we are working. It is not just all work, like they still teach and stuff, but they still do other little things. (Engaged Student, School 3)

- **want to be in the classroom with the students. They are passionate about being with the students more so than anything else.**

Effective teachers are passionate, committed and dedicated to the extent that it is almost a calling to enhance and support children (Bishop et al, 2001b, p. ix).

This teacher we're telling you about gets along with students...He never makes us feel left out...He comes along and helps me and doesn't growl me or anything...He sends a lot of people on courses and career days. He's not like other teachers who only pick people they like...He took some fifth formers down to the snow and to other places. He takes them out places and other teachers, they don't even bother going out. (Engaged Student, School 4)

SET 2: MANA MOTUHAKE: CARING FOR PERFORMANCE (AFTER GAY, 2000, p. 47)

Effective teachers of Māori students demonstrate on a daily basis that they care for the performance and learning of their students by:

- having high expectations and voicing and/or writing this often (Gay, 2000)
- having clear teaching goals and communicating/negotiating these with students (Gay, 2000)
- having a strong commitment to developing students' learning (understanding and growth, i.e. both quantitative and qualitative) (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- having a strong commitment to teaching students how to learn (Gay, 2000)
- continually and critically reflecting on their own teaching (Gay, 2000)
- not accepting mediocrity from anyone (especially themselves) (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- constantly supporting and rewarding efforts and learning by students (Bishop et al, 2001b, p. 153)
- taking personal and professional responsibility for student learning (Gay, 2000)
- clearly identifying what is expected of students or what such learning actually involves (Ladson-Billings, 2001, p. 75)
- having a clear philosophy of teaching, i.e. understanding "the why" (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- being passionate about their subject or for what is being taught (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- adapting their teaching, if teaching needs to be in small bits, being willing to do so (Hawk & Hill, 2000, 5.3, 5.5),
- making homework relevant and checking it carefully and responsively (Hawk & Hill, 2000, 5.3).

Description of the Characteristics

Below is a brief description of each characteristic and evidence for each characteristic is provided from the narratives of experience.

Effective Teachers:

- **have high expectations of students and voice these and or write them often.**

Effective teachers set high academic expectations for their students. They frequently reinforce, both orally and in writing, their belief that for their students, this is achievable. As well, teachers make a commitment to their students that they will make sure that they can learn (Gay 2000, p. 45)

Expect us to do well and to be good. Let us know you think we can do it.
(Non-engaged students, School 2).

You know there's times I wish my teacher would give me a kick-up-the-ass! I can do much better in some things, but they never expect any more from me, not like my primary school teacher. He'd be pissed off with me if he saw my books now because they're untidy and not much work is finished. I've got one book, maths that is okay 'cause the teacher expects me to do well (Non-engaged Students School 1).

- **have clear teaching goals and communicate/negotiate these with students**

Effective teachers need to have a clear picture of what they need to achieve in each class. The best outcomes come about when this is communicated with, and decisions about how these teacher-goals may be achieved, are shared with the students (Gay, 2000, p. 46)

Let us co-operate about the work. Yeah we have good ideas, good, sensible ideas about how to do things. Just ask us (Non-engaged Students, School 2).

Good teachers give you a say in how things are done around the school and in the classroom. They listen to you. You can suggest another way of doing something and they don't put you down (Engaged Students School 1).

I think we are only beginning to understand the importance of the kids having a say in their learning and feeling like they own the learning. The other thing I think we're beginning to understand is that kids need to feel that they can contribute and that could be in terms of them taking responsibility, not just with their own learning but having some actual responsibility and some decision-making powers, if you like, over their lives at school (Principal, School 1).

- **have a strong commitment to developing students' learning (understanding and growth, i.e. both quantitative and qualitative)**

Effective teachers have a strong commitment and take professional responsibility for developing students' learning in both a growth and developmental sense (Bishop et al, 2001b, p. 192).

Good teachers know where we are coming from. They recognise that I am Māori and I have things to bring with me to school. They take you for what you are and that stuff...They want to know how I'm thinking about things. Good teachers really listen to you. They listen to your opinion. They find positive ways to make us learn (Engaged Students, School 1).

Good teachers insist that we can do better than just "achieve" on our cross-unit tests. They help us understand how we learn so we can do better than "achieve" (4XT¹³, School 2).

- **have a strong commitment to teaching students how to learn**

Effective teachers take time in class to help their students understand how they learn. Such teachers are viewed by their students as teachers who are committed to wanting them to be successful in school (Bishop et al, 2001b, p. 192). As one student explained:

When you are in a sports team you learn skills like ball handling and positional play but you also learn tactics that you can use to win. These tactics come from discussions or videos about the opposition's style of play. Before we begin we know how we might help ourselves win against this or that opposition. Until this year in our three classes, we haven't spent any

¹³ This group was part of the in-class observations of teachers.

time on learning and understanding tactics that can help us learn and do well in test. It's just been "here's stuff to copy down", and a bit later "learn it for a test." This year we've learnt something about how we learn and different tactics to make us successful (4XT, School 2).

Good teachers use strategies to demonstrate what happens when we are not engaged like the plan on the board in our Science class. If we are not engaged we get stink marks in little tests (9X, School 2).

- **continually and critically reflect on their own teaching**

Effective teachers critically reflect on their own practices in a variety of ways; sometimes inwardly but preferably with a peer or a senior so as to improve outcomes for both themselves and their students (Gay, 2000, p. 52).

I mean there are so many characteristics to good teachers. As you have said they have got to have the knowledge. They have got to be willing to be learners themselves. I think that is really important. I think you have got to feel that you're not there and know it all, but that you are on a journey as well as the kids (Principal, School 2).

- **do not accept mediocrity from anyone (especially themselves)**

Effective teachers set high standards for all involved in the educative process and work assiduously to attain these standards (Bishop et al, 2001b, p. 192).

For so long the school has been the focus of the community, so it is very easy to be daunted by some of the socio-economic factors that surround us. This leaves teachers I believe, with a lower level of expectancy than they ought to have. Probably the most difficult thing is to maintain teachers optimism and expectancy that kids can do it. Rather than looking at testing as a means of knowing where the child is at or maybe where they could go they tend to accept, because of all the external factors, that this is the child's continuing level. They continue in thinking this is the education level and are not expecting them to rise. So in this school the hardest thing for me to do is to instil high expectancy in the teachers... until teachers put deficit theorising out of their classroom they will accept mediocrity for themselves and their students because there is always something to blame outside of their classroom (Principal, School 4)

- **constantly support and reward efforts and learning by students**

Effective teachers need to give feedback to their students about the quality of their work and how it can be improved. "Crosses and ticks are not enough" (Bishop and Glynn, 1999, p. 153).

A teacher who praises you when you have done something good, or just gives you maybe just like a lolly or something like that when you do good, or when the class does good... I appreciate it when they just put some constructive criticism at the end.

Their marking should tell us what we did wrong and how we can do better. What we have to do if we are going to improve our work. Even when it is a cross they should tell us how we can fix it and explain it to us, because a cross doesn't mean anything to me. Because I won't even remember what the question was, I have just got the answer and it is wrong. That does not help me to learn from the mistake (Engaged Students, School 3).

- **taking personal and professional responsibility for student learning**

Students should not be permitted to choose to fail in classrooms. Effective teachers demonstrate their concern for this by focussing on changes to their own practices that will facilitate student learning (Gay, 2000, p. 52).

When I stopped looking for excuses for student non-achievement outside my classroom and looked carefully at what exactly was going on in there and how it would appear to the students, things began to happen. I had to make the biggest changes and go on the steepest learning curve (Teacher, School 2).

- **clearly identifying what is expected of students or what such learning actually involves.**

Students need to know exactly what academic success entails and what is involved in order to achieve this (Ladson-Billings, 2001, p. 75).

NCEA type assessment has some benefits for student achievement in that it clearly indicates what a student needs to do to reach a specific goal. However, it is also constricting if the atmosphere in the class is not one that demands the very best a student and their teacher can achieve. For students and teachers it makes it very easy to settle for the minimum (Teacher, School 1).

- **have a clear philosophy of teaching, i.e. understand 'the why.'**

Effective teachers need to understand why they are using particular strategies and also need to know their subject and know how to develop their student's understanding of what is being learnt (Bishop et al, 2001b, p. 192).

I think it is important that they know what they are talking about...It is when they put in their own thing and you can tell that they have kind of thought about it, how to make it more interesting and easier to learn 'cause it is easy to learn stuff when you are doing it right and not just writing it down (Engaged Students, School 3).

- **are passionate about their subject and/or what is being taught**

Effective teachers are passionate about their subject and about what is being taught so that students are caught up in the excitement (Bishop et al, 2001b. p. 192).

Be keen about your subject so we want to come (Non-engaged Students, School 1).

We like a subject because the teacher's easy to talk to, easy to ask for help, seems to be happy to be with you, knows their stuff (about the subject), wants you to like it too and doesn't yell at you (Engaged Students, School 4).

- **teach in small bits, if there is a need for such an approach**

Teachers, when required, present material in small steps and in different ways. Effective teachers always pause to check if the student understands and they do these things in a way that necessitates active participation from the student (Hawk & Hill, 2000, p.21).

My good teacher would explain how to do things in lots of different ways especially in maths. She would keep doing it until she was sure we understood. Not like now when some teachers show you one way on the board and then tell you to get started in your books (Non-engaged Students, School 1).

- **make homework relevant and check carefully and responsively**

Effective teachers set homework based on resources that a student can access at home. Homework is a natural extension of the in-class work and demonstrates to the student the value of the homework through careful, regular marking and associated feedback (Hawk & Hill, 2000, p. 33).

Give us useful homework so we want to do it (Non-engaged Students, School 2).

SET 3: NGĀ TŪRANGA TAKITAHĪ ME NĀ MANA WHAREHAERE: CREATING A SECURE, WELL-MANAGED LEARNING SETTING (IE. MANAGEMENT ISSUES)

Effective teachers of Māori students demonstrate on a daily basis that they can create and maintain a secure, well-managed learning setting by:

- having a clear and negotiated set of rules and consequences for quality behaviour and relationships (Hawk & Hill, 2000, 6.1, 6.2)
- stressing the importance of respectful relationships (no put-downs) (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- having excellent classroom management (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- using non-confrontational classroom management strategies (Bishop et al, 2001b)
- having a clean, tidy, organised room (Hawk & Hill, 2000)
- inviting whānau to be involved at a variety of levels (Bishop et al, 2000b)
- seeing their classroom as part of the whole school (Hawk & Hill, 2000, 3.7)
- ensuring that lessons are well-planned and structured (Hawk & Hill, 2000)

Description of the Characteristics

Below is a brief description of each characteristic. Evidence for each characteristic is provided from the narratives of experience.

Effective Teachers:

- **have a clear and negotiated set of rules and consequences for quality of behaviour and relationships (Hawk & Hill, 2000, 6.1, 6.2)**

Routines need to be understood and contributed to by students and consistently implemented (Hawk & Hill, 2000, 6.1. 6.2).

Things are different in some classes this year. In the past when we started in a new class the teacher would have decided already how things would be done in class, like rules. This year we got to suggest our own rules and the consequences if we didn't carry them out. We also got to revise them when they seemed to need it (Year 9 Student, School 2).

- **stress the importance of respectful relationships (no put-downs)**

Respectful relationships between students, home and teacher are important. Effective teachers model and emphasise to others the importance of respectful relationships in classroom interactions (Bishop et al, 2001b, p. 192).

Don't put us down and don't let us put our friends down. Be fair...Treat us respectfully. Look like you want to be here. Say hi to us as we come in. Have a joke with us. Don't bawl us out. If you don't like something we're doing, tell us quietly (Non-engaged Students, School 2).

You get the feeling that the teachers don't respect us as people. Like if I'm a Doctor and a Māori then the Pākehā teacher will take note and maybe will listen to those who have made it. But if we are both mechanics or builders, I don't feel the Māori builder and mechanic is respected the same as the Pākehā ones (Parents, School 2).

Good teachers don't let others put you down either! They work with you (Non-engaged Students, School 2).

- **have excellent classroom management**

Students think about classroom management in terms of knowing what is expected of them and how these expectations will be met. (Bishop et al, 2001b, p.192).

I think it is a good thing when they want to get to know you but they still need to set those boundaries. They need to let you know that they are not going to let you go too far...I like to know where I am with people. I don't want to have to be guessing all the time about where teachers are coming from (Engaged Students, School 3).

- **using non-confrontational classroom management strategies**

Effective teachers who approach students without using loud voices and use non-confrontational strategies are appreciated by their student (Bishop et al, 2001b, p.192).

Like the teacher and us. Sharing things. Collaborating. Yeah that's the one. Yeah teachers who will collaborate with us. Yeah, then we will cooperate with each other (Engaged Students, School 1).

- **have a clean, tidy, organised room**

Effective teachers provide a tidy, well-organised teaching space for students to enter and work in (Hawk and Hill, 2000. 6.1).

We like coming into a working environment that is sometimes neat and tidy but at other times is a work in progress (4XT, School 2).

- **invite whānau to be involved at a variety of levels**

For younger children, having their whānau at school at times, is an acceptable occurrence. Year 9 and 10 students, however, often tell their parents that they don't want to have them at school. However, the reality is that in the right context these students want their whānau to participate. On the other hand, many whānau feel excluded from the secondary school educational experience of their children (Bishop et al, 2001b, p. 192).

A pretty vital part of the job, is maintaining relationships with the community (Principal, School 4).

I don't feel welcome. I feel uncomfortable in the school situation... I didn't attend any College myself (Parents, School 2).

When I see my daughter onto the bus it's like I'm posting her to a strange place. A place that I don't feel comfortable in and nor do I feel that I know anything about the education I want for my daughter anymore (Parents, School 2).

It's not cool to have your parents in your class at High School but when mine went to another class to see what was happening there I didn't like it. If I get a chance I'd like them in my class but I wouldn't tell my friend I liked it! (Student, School 4).

- **see their classroom as part of the whole school (Hawk & Hill, 3.7)**

Effective teachers see their classroom as a part of a larger context and help their students see things similarly so that they all feel that they are not working in isolation (Hawk & Hill, 2000. 3.7).

When we have a school culture that encourages each class and each teacher to contribute to the whole I believe our students will be more successful. At the moment we have a small group of two classes and 4 teachers who operate their classrooms in a way that is in opposition to the prevailing climate. I mean, we expect that our students will achieve and we are not settling for mediocrity. Elsewhere in school, teachers settle for less or give up trying. (Teacher, School 2).

- **ensure that lessons are well-planned and structured**

Effective teachers plan their lessons thoroughly and are flexible and reflective in their implementation (Hawk & Hill, 2000).

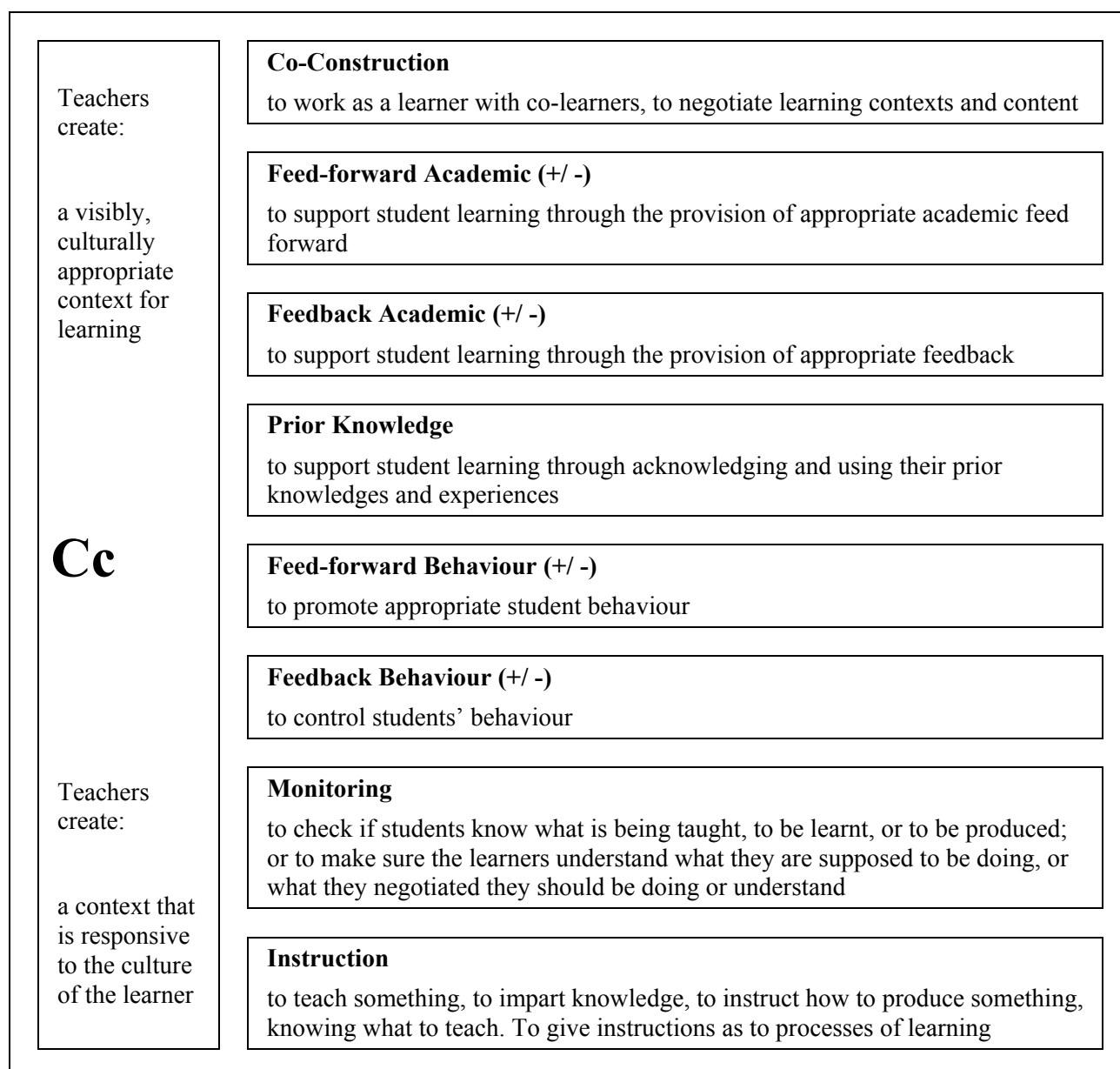
Good teachers don't start thinking about what you are going to teach us when we walk in the room. They get prepared. They have all the resources. They have work in the lesson that everyone can do well at and bright kids don't get bored (Non-engaged Students School 2)

SET 4: WĀNANGA : EFFECTIVE TEACHING INTERACTION

Effective teachers of Māori students demonstrate the following range of interactions on a daily basis.

Note: The categories that are included in this profile were provided by the students we spoke to. The order is based on researchers' observations of teachers in the schools throughout the study.

Figure 4.1: An effective teacher creates a visibly culturally appropriate context for learning.



HOW TEACHING INTERACTIONS MIGHT BE EFFECTIVE

The following pages detail the categories used within the Teaching Interactions diagram on the previous page. Quotes from the students' narratives have been used to illustrate their perceptions of what makes teacher-student interactions effective.

Culture (Big C)

She [teacher] needs to have a background in Māori life (Engaged, School 2)

The pronunciation. When I started at this school I had a Māori name but none of the teachers could say it. So now I am T (Engaged, School 3)

Probably because we have all been saying we don't want to take it [taonga] off, they are beginning to understand that we really don't want to take it off. That it's something precious to you. Yeah, just like their wedding rings are precious to them (Non-engaged, School 3)

The teacher I liked best wasn't Māori but he could have been. He knew all about our stuff. Like he knew how to say my name. He never did dumb things like sitting on tables or patting you on the head. He knew about fantails in a room. He knew about tangis...All that sort of stuff (Non-engaged, School 1)

- **culture (Little c)**

Effective teachers create a context that is responsive to the culture of the learner.

They never even actually make an effort to understand our culture. They don't try to understand where we are coming from (Non-engaged, School 3)

They [teachers] recognise that I am Māori and I have things to bring with me to school. They take you for what you are and that stuff (Engaged, School 1)

- **co-construction**

Effective teachers work as a learner with co-learners, negotiating learning contexts and content.

We told him what we'd like to do in say Maths. Like we had a new student in our class and when he came...he showed the teacher and us something he'd done at his last school...So we asked our teacher if we could do some of this for maths. So we did. We stopped what we were doing and the next day the teacher and the new boy got us started on this (Non-engaged, School 1)

Good teachers know what they're teaching...They listen to you. You can suggest another way of doing something and they don't put you down (Engaged, School 1)

Let us co-operate about the work (Non-engaged, School 2)

I like teachers who let us come up with our own ideas, too, for how things might work. Some of us have very good ideas (Engaged, School 3)

Teach your students using a lot of different ways, interesting ways...Let your students come up with some of the ideas for their learning (Engaged, School 3)

Yeah we have good ideas, good, sensible ideas about how to do things (Non-engaged, School 2)

- **feed-forward academic**

Effective teachers support student learning through the provision of appropriate academic feed forward.

“You’ve got that sussed. How could you use this information to help solve this new problem?” (Engaged student, School 2)

Most of the teachers. They tell Pakeha kids that their work is not up to standard and they’ll need to see their parents if it doesn’t improve. They don’t say that to us! (Non-engaged, School 1)

- **feedback academic**

Effective teachers support student learning through the provision of appropriate feedback.

*When they just tick a page you know they probably haven’t read it. They’ve just gone tick, tick, tick. The teacher would look pretty stupid if they put on a sticker saying “ka pai” and it was all ***! (Non-engaged, School 2)*

Some teachers always mark your books. You do good work for them because you know it will be checked. That’s better. The only books I show at home are the ones the teacher marks (Engaged, School 1)

I appreciate it when they just put some constructive criticism at the end. I mean, you don’t always do good (Engaged, School 3)

She [teacher] will put some work on the board and you will put your hand up, and she will come to you and help you with the work. And everyone is getting what she is teaching (Non-engaged, School 3)

He [teacher] explains work in a way we understand. He takes time and if you still don’t know what to do he’ll come to you straight away, not leave you being worried. He doesn’t leave you wondering what to do (Engaged, School 4)

- **prior learning**

Effective teachers support student learning through acknowledging and using their prior knowledges and experiences.

They [teachers] should ask me about Māori things...I’ve got the goods on this, but they never ask me. I’m a dumb Māori I suppose. Yet they asked the Asian girl about her culture. They never ask us about ours (Engaged, School 1)

They’ve gotta talk with us about the stuff in the lesson – like what we already know (Non-engaged, School 2)

Situations from our own experiences, experiences that are important to us. I think that will make it easier for students to learn from. (Engaged, School 3)

- **feed-forward behaviour**

Effective teachers promote appropriate student behaviour.

I like the way you have behaved in class today. If you continue with this positive behaviour your academic outputs will increase. Awesome! (Teacher, School 2)

- **feedback behaviour**

Effective teachers control students' behaviour positively.

If you don't like something we're doing tell us quietly...If we muck up then warn us and if we are too thick to listen then move us (Non-engaged, School 2)

They [teachers] give you good feedback. Like they say how well you are working or behaving (Engaged, School 2)

Be a teacher who praises you when you have done something good...You know we all like to be told when we do good things, not just be told when we do bad things. (Engaged, School 3)

- **monitoring**

Effective teachers check if students know what is being taught, or is being learnt, or being produced. Monitoring should occur in order to make sure the learners understand what they are supposed to be doing or what they have negotiated to do.

The teacher should be walking around the room not sitting down at the front so that they'll see when we are stuck and come over (Non-engaged, School 1)

She [the teacher] should go and talk to them [students] individually and go through it and go through the steps. (Engaged, School 3)

They [teachers] need to walk around the class and see how people are doing and if they need any help and stuff. They roam around the room to see that people understand how to do their work. (Engaged, School 4)

You have to look carefully at what the student is doing and are not off the track. You have to look carefully at what the student is doing because he might be quietly drawing and not doing the class work. (Engaged, School 4)

- **instruction**

Effective teachers teach something, impart knowledge, and instruct how to produce something efficiently. Many of the concerns identified by Māori students focussed on there being far too much transmission of knowledge by teacher instruction. In contrast, the students suggested that while some instruction might well be necessary, giving instructions about the processes involved in learning activities would also be appreciated. In fact, what the students told us was that they wanted their teachers to use a range of teaching interactions, and not just focus on using instruction, monitoring and negative behavioural feedback

Mostly everywhere we go the teachers tell us a bit and then make us write a lot. It's like they pour the stuff into us. (Engaged, School 2)

Mr W, he puts all the science work on the board and we don't understand...We don't actually do it. We just write it down not knowing, what are we learning? (Non-engaged Students, School 2)

It's pretty much all you are doing, you're just copying. Yeah cause you don't get enough time to read it, you have to hurry up and finish it...The teacher says, "Copy these notes. Hurry up and finish!" (Engaged Students, School 2)

When we are copying notes from the board...you don't have to think too hard and it doesn't take you too long. (Engaged Students, School 3)

Teachers that teach subjects, they just write it up on the board. (Non-engaged Students, School 3)

SET 5: AKO: STRATEGIES

These strategies are those that we suggest³¹⁴ will assist in the creation of culturally appropriate and responsive contexts for learning.

- Narrative pedagogy
- Co-operative learning
- Formative assessment
- Student-generated questioning
- Oral language / Literacy across the curriculum
- Integrated curricula
- Critical reflection
- Ako

¹⁴ There are no quotes from students included in this set for these are our suggestions as educators as to those strategies that it appears will make a difference to Māori students' educational achievement.

- Differentiated learning, i.e. matching strategies/materials to abilities and addressing learning styles.

Description of These Strategies

Below is a brief description of each strategy and appropriate references for further study.

Narrative Pedagogy

The aim of narratives as pedagogy is to create in the minds of those who are participants in the pedagogic process, an image of relationships that are committed, connected and participatory. Such images generate principles of an active, learner-centred education, where learning is problem-based and integrated, and where an holistic approach to curriculum is fundamental to the practices developed (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.176).

Co-operative Learning

Co-operative learning practices provide students with a chance to work together to achieve a common goal. The first goal is to improve the academic skills of each student, and the second goal is to develop skills of getting along with each other in the group. Respecting the views of others, tolerance, teamwork, sharing ideas, and putting group goals ahead of individual goals are just some co-operative learning skills. Successful co-operative learning in classroom groups relies on five essential elements: positive interdependence, individual accountability, group and individual reflection, small group skills, and face-to-face interaction (McGee & Fraser, 2001; Brown and Thomson, 2000).

Formative Assessment

Formative assessment is based on student evidence that is used to clarify and share the learning intentions of a lesson. It involves children in self-evaluation against their learning intentions. It focuses oral and written feedback around the learning intentions of lessons and tasks. It organises achievement targets for individuals based on their previous achievement as well as aiming for a higher level. It involves appropriate questioning that is intended to raise the child's self-esteem via the language of the classroom and the ways in which achievement is celebrated (Clarke, 2001, p.6 –7).

Student-Generated Questioning

Teacher dominated questioning tends to perpetuate the traditional discourse of classrooms where the power of any interchange rests with the teacher. When students are the initiators of the discourse they will be drawing from their cultural discourses (including sense-making processes) rather than those of the teachers. In this way these interactions are based on the diverse realities that students bring to our classrooms. These student knowledges can then be validated and further developed (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.146).

Oral Language/Literacy Across the Curriculum

Teachers need to use as much oral language as possible in order to build an oral language base from which to extend the childrens' vocabulary and understandings. An "oral-rich" atmosphere provides students of all ages with the tools they need to process their own learning. To begin with these need to be focused on the prior or real-life experiences of the children (Bishop, Berryman & Richardson, 2001, p.197).

Integrated Curricula

Curriculum is best co-constructed by the questions and concerns collaboratively developed by teachers and students. When this happens the resultant learning is related to questions and concerns that have personal and social significance for the participants. When this doesn't occur curriculum content is delivered following the traditional discourse and methodologies of the dominant culture. With curricula integration students make connections between disciplines, make better sense of their world and are encouraged to become life-long learners. Teachers have more flexibility as to the components they include and the integration reflects reality (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p.192-195).

Critical Reflection

Reflective practice is an essential element if the learning environment is to be a place of growth for both learners and teachers (Fraser & Spiller, in McGee and Fraser, 2001, p.80). It is not simply a matter of teachers changing or even critically reflecting on the principles that guide their practice. Rather, it is a matter of critically reflecting on the imagery we hold about the teaching process as well as the metaphors we use to conceptualise this process (Bishop & Glynn, 1999, p. 215).

Ako

This literally means to learn and to teach. Ako is about the reciprocity of a person being both a learner and a teacher according to the teaching/learning context. In this practice the teacher does not have to be the font of all knowledge, but rather a partner in the 'conversation' of learning (Bishop, in McGee and Fraser, 2001, p.205).

Differentiated Learning, i.e. Matching Strategies/Materials to Abilities and Addressing Learning Styles

Teachers need to explore ways to manipulate the learning environment to accommodate different learning styles and levels of competency of their students (Ysseldyke & Christenson, 1998).

SET 6: TE KŌTAHITANGA: OUTCOMES

The following outcomes could be used to identify whether learning is happening and achievement is improving.

- Student aspirations/goals
- Student attendance and retention
- Academic engagement
- In-class/across Form level achievement
- In-school progress from 2nd Form baselines
- Literacy and numeracy assessments.

Description of these Changes

Below is a brief description of each outcome and some preliminary evidence.

Student Aspirations/Goals

What is it that these students are telling us they want to achieve at school?

Now that I'm doing better at school I want to be here in Form 7 and then go on from there (Student, 10XT)

I want a good report that shows that I am doing well at school (Non-engaged Student, School 4)

I want to do better than my parents did at school (Engaged Student, School 1)

Student Attendance and Retention

Are retention figures increasing? Are suspension figures diminishing? Is truancy declining?

I don't wag this class anymore. I might miss something good (Student, 10XT)

Being in an almost all Māori class is cool because everyone wants to achieve and be in class (Student, 9W)

Academic Engagement

Schooling is about academic achievement. This can only occur when students are academically engaged in what is being offered in their classes.

When you have some say in what's happening in the class it's easier to get on with the work. It's more meaningful (Non-engaged Student, School 1)

When teachers listen and you can ask questions, learning stuff is okay (Non-engaged Student, School 4)

In-Class/Across Form Level Achievement

Where possible cross-level assessment data is gathered to make academic comparisons.

We are blitzing other classes now in cross-unit tests – even when Sir isn't doing the marking! (Student, School 2)

I didn't think I'd taught them anything about the characterisation of the people in the story. It blew me away as to how well they did the assessment in this unit (Teacher, School 2)

In-School Progress From Year Eight Baselines

In some schools baseline data in both academic and social educational components is established at entry for students. These data are then used to monitor progress of the student each school term, in terms of adding value (or not) to their previous learning.

We can monitor the progress of the student in all areas of schooling and in their personal and social growth. At this point we do not know exactly how

useful this will be but believe that it will help us implement strategies to increase student achievement earlier than was possible before (Principal, School 1)

Literacy Testing

Measures of timed-writing and a Cloze activity were used to establish levels of literacy when there is no cross level data available.

SUMMARY

This profile of what constitutes effective teaching for Māori students was constructed from the narratives of experiences of year 9 and 10 Māori students', those parenting the students, their principals and some of their teachers. Primary weight was given to the experiences and suggestions of the students. During the interviews we asked them to voice what they would say to their teachers if they were able to coach them about teaching strategies that would improve their academic engagement and overall educational achievement. The students were well able to answer this question.

The students' suggestions were then aligned with findings from other research studies and the various sets of characteristics were categorised.

The effective teaching profile was then used within the professional development project to inform the teachers about appropriate relationships and interaction patterns that would make a difference for Māori students' educational achievement.

The effective teaching profile, when implemented by effective teachers of Māori students creates a culturally appropriate and responsive context for learning.

Chapter 5: The Professional Development Process

This chapter initially identifies the teacher participants from the four schools selected for the study. This chapter then backgrounds and details the professional development approach used in this project and indicates some preliminary outcomes.

Teacher Participants and School Profiles

Fourteen teachers attended the Te Kōtahitanga marae professional development hui in November 2001. All 14 teachers planned for and began in the project at the start of the 2002 school year. However, for various reasons, a number withdrew. One teacher withdrew because there were very few Year 9 or 10 Māori (one or two) students in her classes for 2002. Another two teachers withdrew for personal reasons at or prior to the end of Term I.

Of the 11 remaining teachers who participated in the in-school intervention phase of the project, 4 were male and 7 female. In the female cohort 2 were non-Māori and 5 Māori. Of the males, 2 were non-Māori and 2 Māori. In total, 4 non-Māori and 7 Māori¹⁵.

From the data available it can be seen that most of the teachers had attended teacher education courses for secondary teaching in “mainstream” institutions. Two had attended teacher education courses for primary teaching in “mainstream” institutions and one had no formal teaching qualification.

Three of the participants were deans and two were heads of department or faculty. One teacher taught in a homeroom setting whilst the others were basic scale teachers in a variety of curriculum areas.

Apart from the homeroom teacher, teachers in this project taught Mathematics, English, Social Studies, and Science. The homeroom teacher took the students in this homeroom class for all core subjects and one “optional” subject, Food Technology.

The number of years that these teachers had been teaching ranged from two to 30.

¹⁵ While it may appear that Māori teachers are necessary to change the educational achievement for Māori students, in the Te Kauhua Professional Development Sub-contract, 60% of the teachers are non Māori and indications are that positive changes are occurring for Māori students equally within classes taken by Māori and non-Māori teachers. Further Glynn et al (2001) contend that if we are to make improvements for Māori students then it is non-Māori who must be targeted for change.

Teacher Participants

Table 5.1: Teacher Profiles

School	Teacher Number	Gender	Ethnicity	Qualifications	Pre-service Education Institution	Type of Pre-Service Education	Number of Years Teaching
School 1	1	F	M	BCom Auckland, DipT	College of Education	Secondary	2
	2	M	NM	BSc Massey, DipT	School of Education	Secondary	2
School 2	3	F	NM	BSc	–	Secondary	4
	4	M	NM	BA Massey, DipT	College of Education	Secondary	20
	5	M	M	BA Victoria, DipT	College of Education	Secondary	4
	6	F	M	N/A	N/A	Primary	N/A
School 3	7	F	NM	BA	Teachers' College	Primary	N/A
School 4	8	M	M	BA Auckland, DipT	College of Education	Secondary	5
	9	F	M	BA, MA (Hons) Massey, DipT	College of Education	Secondary	30
	10	F	M	BsocSc Waikato, DipT	Polytechnic	Secondary	3
	11	F	M	BsocSc Waikato	Polytechnic	Secondary	4

Introduction and Background

The major purpose of this project was to improve Māori students' educational achievement. In accordance with our culturally preferred research approach, Kaupapa Māori, we sought to develop a means whereby we could work alongside teachers in order to assist them to create culturally appropriate and responsive contexts for learning and then monitor Māori students' educational achievement that developed as a result of the creation of these learning contexts.

We began with ideas from a professional development model that we had identified in the stocktake of diagnostic tools (Bishop et al, 2000b) and the evaluation of Aromatawai Urunga-A-Kura (AKA) (Bishop et al, 2001a). In both of these studies teachers identified, from their own experiences, what type of professional development was most effective for them. To them, professional development should create power-sharing contexts wherein self-determining individuals work together to set goals and outcomes. The successful design and implementation of professional development, according to these teachers, was not a matter of one-off sessions provided by outside experts transmitting knowledge. They understood that this type of professional development resulted in minimal teacher uptake of skills and knowledge and with very little flow-on implementation. These teachers suggested that effective professional development required a model of dynamic interactions that were the result

of power-sharing relationships being established between the trainer and the trainees. This dynamic model of professional development suggests a spiralling approach that initially involves collaborative reflection on the experiences and relationships of the participants. We understood that this could be accomplished through powhiri and whakawhanaungatanga, through “interviews as conversations” (Bishop, 1996), through observations and stimulated recall interviews, or perhaps by using formative assessment tools constructed for the purpose. It was made clear to us that dialogue following these initial activities of encounter should seek to further identify the group’s needs and expectations before mutually agreeable goals were set. Subsequent dialogue could provide feedback, identify outcomes and protocols and outline parameters for success such as setting time lines for practice and reflection. Instruction and demonstration, using real and/or vicarious means, need to be followed by opportunities to perform or practice the procedure in an authentic context. In this model, simultaneous to authentic practice, are opportunities for in-class supporters to provide ongoing and informed reflection and feedback (coaching) to teachers within the classroom context.

In the two earlier studies mentioned previously, teachers identified that when they went from professional development (instruction, demonstration and practice) to immediate implementation and practice in their own classroom setting with in-class support and ongoing reflection and feedback, the procedures were learned and implemented with greater reliability than if professional development was distributed to the school using the outside expert model only. Teachers identified that professional development such as this led to greater opportunities for “ako” to occur. Trainers themselves also stood to learn from teachers and from the ongoing interactions and patterns of practice that were able to be observed between teachers and students. The period between professional development and usage of the procedure in an authentic classroom context was also crucial to the successful uptake of the skills and knowledge required to use the newly acquired procedures reliably in the future. Indeed, as identified by Hall and Ramsay (1994), these two studies also found that the most effective professional development was on-site, ongoing and collaboratively reflective.

Overall, it was identified that it was essential that the images that guided this process were those of spiral rather than of sequential discourse. The spiral discourse model allows for collaborative and critical reflection in an on-going and cumulative fashion thus allowing for further adaptation and building upon of understandings developed earlier.

In the AKA evaluation and in the experience of the research team, trainers need to be informed (knowledgeable about the setting and context of the professional development as well as the related theories) and competent (able to competently practice the procedures). These competencies include cultural competencies such as te reo (Māori language) and ngā tikanga (cultural practices). The amount of time spent in professional development appears to be a less significant factor towards effectiveness than does the time between professional development and practice with in-class support, reflection and feedback. While the amount of time needed for this very effective part of the professional development (practice with in-class support, reflection and feedback, i.e. coaching) may be considerable and ongoing, professional development without this component may be ineffective and a waste of resources.

Therefore, researchers understood that prior to commencing the Te Kotahitanga project that professional development needed to focus on an inclusive education model. This required moving away from an expert-novice model to a more reciprocal and holistic understanding of professional

development. Professional development that is informed by concepts of *ako* (Pere, 1982) where the roles of the teacher (trainer) and learner (teacher) are interchangeable. Professional development where the provider and teacher develop relationships that model the relationship and interactions that should develop between the teacher and their students in the classroom.

Te Kōtahitanga: The Year 9 And 10 Professional Development Approach

In reference to that outlined above and as a result of our experiences in this present study, the professional development approach that we have used is one where teachers and researchers first had planned opportunities to develop relationships. On the basis of these relationships both groups collaborated to set mutually agreeable goals, outcomes, protocols and parameters for success. Then instruction and demonstration was followed by opportunities for teachers to perform or practice the new procedures in an authentic classroom context with in-class support. The provision of ongoing and informed reflection and feedback (coaching) between teachers and researchers (as supporters) in the classroom context meant that researchers needed to make frequent visits to the classroom as part of the professional development. Working within classroom settings sought to provide mutual benefits to researchers and teachers. Researchers had opportunities to further connect theory to practice while teachers benefited from collaboration that generated critical reflection and collegial feedback.

The Year 9 and 10 professional development consisted of three discrete steps.

Step 1: The project director and the research team undertook to introduce participating schools to the parameters of the project. These interactions were in school and face to face and also through written or electronic means. Groups of staff, students, principals and parents engaged with researchers in formal and informal discussions. Initial contact with schools and collaborative story interviews took place in September and October of 2001.

Step 2: A four day hui for the fourteen volunteer teachers and whānau participants covered a range of topics that included the identification of the main influences facing Māori students educational achievement, appropriate strategies for changing classrooms and planning for change. This professional development hui took place within an appropriate Māori cultural context. Kaumātua support throughout this hui ensured that appropriate reo and tikanga were used. The professional development hui took place in November of 2001 at Te Kotahitanga marae, Port Waikato.

Step 3: Post-hui in-class observations using an observation instrument (see Table 5.3) enabled researchers to provide teachers with feedback and feed-forward. This was then followed by opportunities for teachers to talk about their in-class experiences and to co-construct with others new directions for their teaching and then to practice their new learning with in-class support, reflection and shadow-coaching. This process happened three times. Firstly early in Term I, then early in Term II and thirdly at the start of Term III, 2002.

STEP 1: THE RELATIONSHIP PHASE

The first phase of professional development in this project involved establishing and building the relationship between the researchers and teachers from the four selected sites. For some teachers this began when they were interviewed by researchers as part of the teachers' collaborative stories in part one of the study (see chapter 3). For others it began by their volunteering to become co-participant researchers with the research team in order to promote change in achievement levels of the Māori children in their classrooms. Not all teachers were a part of the teachers' collaborative stories, but all were part of negotiations where they were able to identify for themselves the likely benefits for themselves and their Māori students as a result of their participation in the project.

STEP 2: THE HUI PHASE OF THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

On the first day of the professional development hui, participants were unexpectedly involved in two powhiri. Although the first marae were expecting us, they were also expecting the imminent arrival of a tūpāpaku (deceased person) and were preparing to hold a tangi. Although the powhiri took place and we were still extended an invitation to stay, we were led by our kuia to move to a second marae where we were again formally welcomed by the tangata whenua. Not only were teachers getting to meet the researchers in a cultural setting, many were also having their first encounter within settings in which the Māori culture dominated rather than where it was marginalised. Once the formal rituals of encounter had taken place on the second marae, teachers, researchers and kaumātua entered the whare tūpuna (meeting house) where they were led by the kuia through rituals of mihimihi (personal greetings) and whakawhanaungatanga (establishing connections). The kuia also shared with participants the significance of professional development within the whare tūpuna. The goals of the professional development week were then ready to be contemplated within a shared Māori cultural context.

The initial professional development activity involved participants being presented with one of the students' narratives (see extract in Appendix B) and the following problem solving exercise. Teachers worked through this exercise in co-operative learning groups.

Problem-solving exercise

Read the narratives of the selected case study and consider the following questions – make your own notes to help you in the following group activity.

1. *Read the narratives that make up the school profile.*
2. *What about these stories is already familiar to you?
How have you come to know these things?
Who else in your school knows?
What does this mean for your school? – for teachers?
What else would you like to know? i.e. what questions do you have of these narratives?*
3. *What have you found surprising?
Why has it surprised you?
What else would you like to know?*
4. *What are some of the interactions that are taking place in this school? What kinds of interactions are they? Did you already know that this type of interaction took place in*

*schools? How did you know that?
How might this knowledge affect your school? Your teaching?*

5. *What are the main relationships in this school?
What kind of relationships are they?
Did you already know about these kinds of relationships?
How did you know about them? Who else knows? Are these kinds of relationships surprising to you?
How might this knowledge affect teaching? Your school?
What other relationships could there be?*
6. *What are the main problems presented in these narratives?*
6a. *Select one or two major problems.*

It is important that these problems are externalised so that the element of individual or group blame is removed.

Blame is unproductive and judgmental. Name the problem. How is the problem affecting the relationships involved in this setting? E.g. "Blame is the problem". How is blame affecting the relationship in this school?
7. *Identify potential barriers to solving the problem.*

Consider existing school structures, policies, preferred pedagogies, aspirations, and expectations.
8. *What courses of actions are possible?*

Brainstorm in your group. How might these narratives be different?
9. *Which course of action is least acceptable?*
10. *If you had to facilitate change in terms of addressing professional development in this school, what course of action would you suggest?*

Take note of who should be given priority and identify potential barriers in terms of addressing potential and creating long-term outcomes.
11. *How could this course of action be implemented?*

Consider location and time frames.
12. *How would you know if it was successful?*
13. *What lesson does this example have for your own school?*

Consider what follow-up monitoring or evaluation strategies would be necessary.

This problem solving exercise was aimed at helping teachers critically reflect upon their own assumptions about their relationships with Māori students and to interrogate, in a non-confrontational manner, their own roles in the perpetuation of low academic achievement, high suspension rates and high absenteeism among Māori students. It was non-confrontational because the teachers were able to experience vicariously what it was like to be a Māori student in classes and schools that could well be like their own. It was also non-confrontational in that none of the teachers present were called to account for the negative experiences reported on by the Māori students in the narratives. However

teachers were encouraged by the activity to critically evaluate their own images, principles and practices within their own school and classroom settings. In this way, the teachers were encouraged to consider how cultural dominance manifests itself in the lives of Māori students and of their whānau, and the part they themselves may well play in this dominance and marginalisation of Māori cultural realities. In turn, they were encouraged to consider how they and the way they relate to and interact with Māori students may affect Māori students' learning.

The test of the effectiveness of this vicarious approach was that in this case (and again in the later Te Kauhua professional development hui)¹⁶ none of the teachers chose to challenge the lived experiences of the students but rather asked how they might go about changing the negative aspects of these experiences in their classrooms. Anyone who has been involved in attempting to conduct professional development for teachers into any aspect of Māori education will appreciate that this result is something of a breakthrough.

The professional development next moved on to the suggestions made by Māori students for improving their classroom learning conditions. The research team had processed their suggestions into the Profile of Effective Teaching. Each of these strategies were focussed on and explored in detail. The range of strategies included Māori cultural preferences and aspirations, inclusive teaching strategies such as cooperative and collaborative learning and consultative collaborative strategies, literacy assessment and teaching strategies, behaviour management strategies, home and school relationship strategies and narrative pedagogies. Guest presenters were invited to facilitate at some of these sessions. For example Don Brown and Lottie Thompson presented a full day on cooperative learning strategies and Angus Macfarlane took a workshop on Māori pedagogy.

The emphasis of the week was for the teachers to be able to leave with a firm plan detailing how they intended to improve conditions for Māori students on their return to their schools. Over the summer period, teachers (approximately three in each of the four schools) all worked in groups to prepare for the coming new year.

The final activity of the hui involved an exercise that was aimed at trying to identify shifts in teachers' thinking. As researchers we were interested in establishing whether they thought differently about the deficit influences that had traditionally been identified by teachers as preventing Māori student engagement (student/family, school structure). We were also interested in establishing whether the influences that Māori students had identified as critical to their own engagement (relationships, classroom interactions) were beginning to replace these more traditional deficit notions. The hui participants were asked to indicate on a scale of one to ten (one being the lowest and ten being the highest) how their thinking about these things had changed over the duration of the professional development hui. These results are presented in the table below.

¹⁶ In July 2002, the research team were contracted to the Curriculum Division of the Ministry of Education to undertake a research/professional development exercise, using the approach reported on here, in 3 schools that were part of the Māori in the Mainstream Pilot programme: Te Kauhua

Table 5.2: Shifts in Teachers' Thinking about Influences that are Critical to Māori Student Engagement

Shifts in Teachers' Thinking				
Factors identified by Māori students	Monday		Friday	
	Minor Influence	Major influence	Minor influence	Major influence
Relationships	5	11	0	16
Classroom Interactions	4	10	0	16

Shifts in Teachers' Thinking				
Factors traditionally identified by teachers	Monday		Friday	
	Minor influence	Major Influence	Minor Influence	Major influence
Structural Change	9	9	14	2
Student and Family	10	6	15	2

This data show a marked shift in the teachers' understanding of the major influences on Māori students' educational achievement. From Monday, as a group they had weighted influences relatively evenly over factors identified by Māori students and factors traditionally identified by teachers. By Friday, teachers were much clearer that relationships and classroom interactions far outweighed student/family and structural change as being major influences to Māori students' achievement. Further outcomes of this professional development hui are to be found in the milestone report furnished to MOE in November 2001 (Bishop et al, 2002).

STEP 3: THE IN-CLASS OBSERVATIONS AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The in-class professional development that followed was reliant upon the ability of researchers to, objectively and accurately, observe timed samples of Māori student engagement and of classroom teacher and student interactions. As previously mentioned researchers had used the Māori students' collaborative stories to identify the types of behaviour that Māori students understood would be beneficial to their learning if they were to be employed by their classroom teachers (the Effective Teaching Profile – see chapter 4). Information from Māori students on what contributed to effective teaching was then used to develop the time sample sheets (see Table 5.3), for in-class observations of Māori student and teacher interactions. The time sample sheets were based on those developed for the Māngere Guidance Units in 1976 (Thomas & Glynn, 1976, Section 5, chapter 8.2) and further developed in Hei Āwhina Mātua (Glynn, Berryman, Atvars, & Harawira, 1997), a collaborative home and school behaviour management programme. Once redeveloped, the classroom observation procedures were trialed in the classrooms of all target teachers, who taught Year 9 or Year 10 Māori students. These observation sheets have subsequently been used in the later Te Kauhua sub-contract exercise and redesigned again as a result of this work.

Use of the Observation and Feedback Instrument

Observations in the four schools took place at times that had been pre-negotiated with the principal and staff. Two observers were used in each classroom observation. This enabled a reliability check to be made between observers. Data gathered during classroom observations was used to form a picture

Diagram 5.1: Observation Schedule

Classroom Time Sample:	School:	Teacher Code:	Date:
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Teacher Codes	Relationships Codes	Work Completed as Required by the Teacher
S Social Interaction	W Whole class	
M Monitoring and Checking	I Individual	
P Prior Learning/Knowledges	G Group	
FB/FFB Feedback Behaviour Feed Forward behaviour (either +/-)		
FA/FFA Feedback Academic/ Feed Forward Academic (either +/-)		
C Co-construction		
I Instruction		
O Other		

1
2
3
4
5

None
Some
All

Observe for 10 seconds then record for 5 seconds

TARGET	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	% E	Work completed
Student 1 ✓ engaged × not engaged												
Teacher												
Student 2												
Teacher												
Student 3												
Teacher												
Student 4												
Teacher												
Student 5												
Teacher												

T and S positioning

Subject Area: **Banding of Class:**

Lesson Description	Strategies being implemented
<p>1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____</p> <p>Not Challenging Medium Challenging</p> <p><u>Cognitive Level for Class</u></p>	<p>SRI¹⁷ needed when Co-construction seen. Yes/No</p>

Reminders for Observers Teacher Codes:

<p>The narratives of experience show us that an effective teacher engages in the following behaviours:</p> <p>S establishes a sound, social, caring, respectful relationship with the Māori student and by association with their family.</p> <p>M monitors and /or checks that Māori students understand what is expected of them.</p> <p>P acknowledges their prior learning or knowledges (including specifically Māori cultural knowledge).</p> <p>FB/FFB provides feedback behaviour or feed forward behaviour (+ / -).</p> <p>FA/FFA provides feedback academic or feed forward academic (+ / -).</p> <p>C co-constructs the learning process, style, content with students. i.e. Co-construction is where the Māori student engages in "conversation" with the teacher, either as a whole-class, group or individual in the decision-making about the learning task/s curriculum content or learning styles that could be used. In effect, such an activity would include all or most of the previous categories. When this occurs a follow-up SRI should be done. E.g. "I noted during the class you ... Can you please tell us about this?" etc.</p>	
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Conventions: a. An external class interruption-stop and begin again when settled. b. Teacher selects 3 students(#1,2,3), researchers 2 (#4,5). c. Start after 10 minute

¹⁷ SRI = Stimulated Recall Interviews. An approach used to engage the observed teacher in theorising about their practice.

Teacher Use of Student Preferred Strategies as a Percentage

The student preferred strategies were drawn from the students' narratives, in which they articulated the types of strategies they deemed to be conducive to their own learning and achievement. These strategies were categorised and coded for inclusion in the Observation Schedule. These strategies ranged from *instruction* and *monitoring* to *feed forward academic* and *co-construction*. The following codes were used for recording purposes on this criterion: S, social interaction; I, instruction; M, monitoring and checking; P, prior learning/knowledge; FB, feedback behaviour; FFB, feed forward behaviour; FA, feedback academic; FFA, feed forward academic; C, co-construction; and O, other. All feedback or feed forward observations were also evaluated in terms of it being positive or negative. Some activities such as preparation activities were not coded and were grouped under a category identified as "O" for other.

Student Engagement

The measurement of engagement was based on the researcher's observations of what the child was doing, and whether the child appeared appropriately engaged, or on-task with the lesson. Each student was observed 10 times in each lesson for periods of 15 seconds. Students were identified with a tick (engaged) or a cross (not engaged). The percentage of engaged time per student was then calculated. Student engagement or academic engaged time is a measure of the amount of time during each observation period that the student is actually paying attention to or involved in the academic activity (Gage & Berliner, 1992, p. G-6). This measure was used because this in-class section of the study was only of six months duration. In such a short period of time, accurate long-term measurements of achievement are not possible. Nevertheless, academic engaged time is a well-established predictor of improved academic performance (Gage & Berliner, 1992; Yesseldyke & Christiansen 1998; Fisher et al, 1981).

Teacher Student Interactions

Three codes, *W* (whole class), *I* (individual) or *G* (group), were used on the observation schedule to identify the type of teacher-student interactions. The primary purpose for using this measurement was to identify if the teacher was utilising group strategies (which were identified by Māori students as being a preferred teaching strategy) or having time and space to interact with individuals as compared to teaching the whole class. This category was also included to identify whether the teacher was able to use a range of teacher/student strategies (such as a combination of the three groupings identified) as part of their classroom teaching approach.

Work Completed by Students

This measurement refers to how much work (that was set by the teacher) was in fact completed by the students during the class period. This measurement was firstly discussed amongst the observers so that a consensual view of what constituted each category (1-5) was arrived at and then in the classroom, the observers examined students exercise books or such like once the formal observation were completed. This measurement also relates to the level of engagement achieved by the student during this time. For example, if engagement was 100% and work completed was 5 (being the highest category indicating work set for the lesson was all completed), it could suggest that the observation of the child's level of engagement was correct. However, if the engagement level was 100% and the work completed was 1 (the lowest category indicating work set was not completed), it could suggest that while the student appeared engaged (for example, head down, writing in book, looking at the

board), the student might not have been actively engaging in the lesson. It might also suggest that the child might not have been able to understand the lesson or was bored. Similarly if the engagement of the student was low yet work completed was high, then the lesson may well be too easy, a problem many students identified in their narratives of experience.

Teacher Locations Throughout the Observation

The students' narratives indicated that it was problematic when teachers stayed at the front of the classroom or moved only to non-Māori or "good" students. Data on this category was gathered on a grid that marked out where the teacher was standing on ten separate intervals during the observations.

Position of Target Māori Students

In order to gain a better understanding of where the Māori students were positioned in relation to the teacher's movement, researchers gathered information about where the target students were seated. This data was then compared with the teacher location data in order to identify whether the teacher worked with Māori students (which might suggest that the teacher was giving support to Māori students), or whether the teacher was displaying the non-contact characteristics described by the Māori students' narratives.

Description of the Lesson

By obtaining a description of the lesson, researchers were better able to understand the context in which the lesson was being taught. This category was also included so researchers could identify additional information to support the feedback given to teachers as part of the professional development component of the research project.

Strategies Being Used

This section of the observation schedule allowed space for researchers to write more specific notes about the teaching strategies used by the teachers during the lesson observed. As with the lesson description, these notes about the strategies being used were to prompt the research team during the feedback component of the research project.

Stimulated Recall Interviews

These are interviews that were used following the observations in order to facilitate the teachers theorising about their observed actions. Such interviews would often follow this type of pattern: "During the lesson, I noticed that you did such and such. Can you explain why you did that?" Please note that such interviews most always carried out about positive interactions between teachers and students.

Stimulated recall interviews were carried out when researchers observed co-construction in a lesson. Co-construction was understood to be instances when Māori students, supported by their teacher, engaged in collaborative decision-making processes about their own learning. Stimulated recall interviews were carried out in order to develop a better understanding of teachers' and students' experiences of this strategy.

Cognitive Level of Lesson

For this observation, a subjective evaluation was made by the observers, following extensive discussions about what constituted each level (among all the observers). For example, it was agreed that 1 equalled a lesson that was not challenging to the students. A 5 indicated a lesson that challenged all or most of the students. A 3 indicated a lesson with a medium level of challenge where it was apparent that the teacher thought that most of the students could handle the cognitive level of the work expected. The intermediate numbers, 2 and 4, were to be used to indicate degrees of variation between the main points of 1, 3, and 5. Fundamental to the category of 4 and 5 was the notion of the teacher providing variable levels of challenge according to the variable capabilities of the students, that is evidence of the teacher moving beyond teaching to the “middle of the class”.

This measurement helped researchers to make better sense of the connections between the cognitive challenge presented to students, the engagement data and the work-completed data. For example, if engagement was 100% and work completed was 2, then the task was too hard. Or more commonly, when engagement was 50% and work completed was 5, the task may well have been too easy. This was a common complaint from Māori students in their collaborative story contributions.

Visibility of Culture in Classroom

Data on the extent to which Māori culture was evident in classrooms were gathered in order to monitor teachers' increased awareness of the centrality of culture to Māori students' learning. Researchers paid attention to both the visible signs of Culture (for example, Māori images and icons in the work on display) and the invisible signs of culture (for example, teachers who used Māori contexts within lessons) and took care to accurately pronounce Māori words.

The observation instrument provided the following data:

- percentages of time target students were engaged and non-engaged
- percentages of time teachers were using strategies that Māori students have identified as helping them achieve
- the extent to which the classroom context ensured the visible culture of the child is incorporated and the invisible culture of the child is able to be brought to the classroom conversations as a ‘normal’ part of each lesson
- evidence of change over time from traditional teacher-dominated learning practices to one where there are discursive practices and co-construction (power-sharing) between students and teachers

This data is found in chapter 6.

The observation instrument was used to provide data for the research project and at the same time, feedback to the teachers on how well they were transforming this relationship and interactions with the Māori students in their classes.

Following the provision of feedback to the teachers, a further interactive session between the teachers and the researcher/professional development team involving feed-forward of new ideas, and co-construction of new approaches and strategies was undertaken. This was then followed up by further

in-class observations in the form of shadow-coaching which involved in-class support and feedback on the lessons/strategies/approaches developed in the co-construction meetings.

OVERALL COMPONENTS OF THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The Professional Development part of this project was undertaken from late 2001 to mid-2002. The first steps were conducted in late 2001 and the in-class observations and feedback component of the professional development process took place in the four target schools in Terms I, II and III of 2002. As the project developed it was found that an optimal level of in-class support needed to be provided to each teacher to support the transformations they were making. This level of support consisted of a number of components:

- 1) Initiation negotiations.
- 2) Full participation at the four-day hui.
- 3) Feedback via phone/email on plans developed at the hui for the return to school.
- 4) First observation and feedback and feed-forward on the lesson observed.
- 5) Follow-up session that focussed on co-construction of new approaches and shadow-coaching in classrooms to support the implementation of the new strategies/approaches decided upon in the co-construction meetings. (Note, this might also have involved lesson modelling, support from other teachers and working with students).
- 6) Second observation and feedback/feed-forward.
- 7) Follow-up sessions (as in number 5).
- 8) Third observation and feedback/feed-forward.
- 9) Follow-up sessions (as in number 5) and ongoing development of effective strategies.

In addition to this formal structure, many teachers who were within close proximity to the research team were able to engage in informal visits supported by further in-class shadow-coaching, thus emphasising the need for professional developers to be within close proximity of the professional development site so that they can respond to the immediate needs of the participants.

VARIATION IN PROVISION OF THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

All of the teachers participated to some extent in steps one and two of the professional development. That is, they were introduced to the project in some way or another, were keen to volunteer their participation, and they all attended and participated in the four-day hui. However, due to a number of factors beyond the control of the research/professional development team, not all of the teachers were able to participate fully in the third step of the professional development.

The following table illustrates the variation in the provision of the professional development. In School 4, Teachers 8, 9, 10 and 11 were not able to participate in all of the follow-up interventions with the research team because of this school being far distant from the research team.

Table 5.3: Provision of the Professional Development

Intervention Component		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	Teacher	Initiation Step	Hui	Feedback on plans for return to school	Observation 1	Follow-up	Observation 2	Follow-up	Observation 3	Follow-up
School 1	1	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	2	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
School 2	3	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	4	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	5	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
	6	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
School 3	7	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
School 4	8	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×	✓	×
	9	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×	✓	×
	10	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×	✓	×
	11	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×	✓	×

FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE IN-CLASS PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

During the implementation of the in-class professional development, a number of outcomes ensured that adaptations and refinements needed to be incorporated into the model of professional development.

- 1) It was found that where schools had more than one teacher engaged in the professional development and working with all or some of the same students, teachers were able to work effectively as a co-operative team focussing on improving the learning of the students in their own classes.
- 2) It was also found that the sooner the feedback was applied in the classroom (and this application was supported appropriately by support staff), the more effective the change. Therefore within this aspect of professional development, an ongoing cycle was developed. This cycle began with the observations and was followed by feedback and feed forward. As soon as possible after this, co-construction and then in-class shadow coaching followed (see Table 5.4 below).

Table 5.4: Ongoing Cycle of Professional Development

Day 1	First group of teachers observed and feedback given following the lesson
Day 2	Second group of teachers observed and feedback given following the lesson
Day 3	Planning/co-construction meeting – a group of teachers who teach a common group of students talk in general terms about their recent observed lessons and together decide where to go from there
Day 4	Follow-up observation and shadow coaching for the first group of teachers
Day 5	Follow-up observation and shadow coaching for the second group of teachers

NB: this pattern can be repeated as often as needed to cover the teachers in the school.

- 3) The low numbers of teachers we worked with in this study meant that they were not often able to talk to other teachers who had been undertaking the same programme of professional development. In addition, the small number of teachers in each of the schools involved in this study raised concerns with the researchers about sustainability of the programme. As a result researchers suggest that greater numbers of teachers from each school need to be involved in the professional development in order to build up a critical mass of change agents within each participating school. This model should result in greater sustainability.

After each observation, the data is collated in order to identify and monitor changes and other developments.

Overall Fundamentals of This Professional Development Approach

The professional development approach focuses on:

- reducing or eliminating deficit explanations for non-achieving Māori students;
- improving teacher-student relationships at a variety of levels and measuring the increased use of more appropriate strategies over time;
- utilising and building upon in-school and community expertise, e.g. RTLBs, RTLits, advisors, kaumātua) for sustainability;
- identifying those structural changes that might follow and facilitate further classroom developments, but that need not precede the professional development intervention; and
- moving classroom interactions from traditional to discursive patterns, where the culture of the child is central to learning.

The professional development approach has the following features:

- a 3-step process; and
- uses in-class observation, feedback, feed-forward, co-construction and shadow coaching

Professional Development Model

The following model has been developed from this study, and has been further supported by our experiences in the Te Kauhua Professional Development Sub-Contract.

PART 1

The need for all Professional Development to be research based, research driven and researched in progress:

- a) the professional development programme should grow out of effective research into the central problem, e.g. narratives of experience;
- b) the research should drive what happens in the professional development, e.g. use of observational tools and collaborative reflection; and
- c) the professional development should be researched as it progresses e.g. use of follow-up interviews, evaluation checklists, objective data of outcome measures.

PART 2

The need to provide teachers with experiences (vicarious and real) that enable them to:

- a) positively reject deficit theorising as a means of explaining differentials in educational achievement;
- b) understand that they can bring about positive change in the educational achievement of Māori students in their classroom;
- c) understand that they are professionally responsible for bringing about positive change;
- d) actively engage with the means of bringing about positive change through altering the relationships they have with Māori students; and
- e) re-position themselves conceptually from non-agentic spaces to ones where they have agency.

PART 3

The need to provide teachers with strategies that will promote culturally appropriate and responsive contexts for learning:

- a) narrative pedagogy
- b) co-operative learning
- c) formative assessment
- d) student-generated questioning
- e) critical reflection
- f) meta-cognitive approaches
- g) differentiated learning
- h) reciprocal learning
- i) peer learning

PART 4

The need for teachers to understand why they are using particular strategies and the effects of these strategies on classroom and school dynamics. That is, the need for teachers to know that by using certain strategies they can clearly signal to students that they will:

- a) care for the students as culturally located human beings;
- b) care about the performance of their students;
- c) are competent, well-prepared classroom managers; and

are able to interact with students in such a way as to build on the students' prior cultural knowledges, provide appropriate feedback and feed-forward and co-construct learning with the students. Further, they will understand that these interactions are fundamental to developing power-sharing relationships.

PART 5

The need for facilitators to work with teachers in class on an on-going, continuous basis in order to facilitate teachers' ownership of new discursive strategies and interactions. This process involves:

- a) conducting a series of in-class teacher/student observations to identify shifts in teaching interactions and use observations as a basis for objective feedback, feed forward and co-construction;
- b) providing feedback / feed forward and facilitating co-construction meetings with groups of staff; and
- c) conducting follow-up, shadow- coaching sessions with individual teachers.

PART 6

The need for a planned means whereby teachers/groups/departments/schools can take ownership of the professional development process to ensure long-term sustainability:

- a) capacity building of a lead teacher/s;
- b) capacity building among staff; and
- c) incorporation of RTLB/Advisors into the process.

PART 7

The need for a planned means whereby the school can identify structural changes that are necessary to support in-class developments by:

- a) reducing strain on management team by reducing behaviour problems; and
- b) collaboratively identifying structural changes that are necessary to support in-class developments.

PART 8

The need for a planned means whereby teachers/groups/departments/schools can know if they have made a difference in Māori students' educational development:

- a) summative assessment
- b) formative assessment

- c) intuitive knowing

PART 9

The need for professional developers to be knowledgeable about the theoretical underpinnings of the model and able to demonstrate and implement the new practices and skills.

- a) professional developers need to be trained as facilitators
- b) professional developers' training needs to be ongoing
- c) professional developers need to implement new practices and skills and demonstrate new proficiency.

PART 10

The need for teachers to understand that they are participants in a dynamic model of professional development rather than being recipients of instruction:

- a) the relationship between professional developers and teachers should be of the same order as that proposed for teacher and students;
- b) the basis of relationships is power sharing between autonomous, self-determining individuals; and
- c) these relationships are understandable in terms of the Treaty of Waitangi

The following chart (Table 5.5) visually shows the 10 elements discussed above and whilst in need of further testing, could well be used to evaluate the professional development model used for improving Māori student's educational achievement.

Table 5.5: Professional Development Evaluation Table

Does the P.D. model provide a means whereby:	Always	Mostly	Sometimes	Not Often	Never
1) Teachers can identify their own positioning in relation to Māori students	5	4	3	2	1
2) Teachers understand and can articulate the implications of their positionings	5	4	3	2	1
3) a. Teachers are able to change their positioning as necessary b. Teachers are able to reject deficit theorising as a means of explaining differences in educational achievement	5	4	3	2	1
4) Teachers articulate that they can bring about change in the educational achievement of Māori students in their classrooms	5	4	3	2	1
5) Teachers understand and can implement a range of strategies that will create a culturally appropriate and responsive context for learning	5	4	3	2	1
6) Teachers understand and can explain why they are doing what they are doing? i.e. Does the Professional Development model have a comprehensive theory of implementation and can teachers articulate their understanding of this theory	5	4	3	2	1
7) Teachers are supported on an on-going collaboratively reflective basis, in class, in order for them to internalise their understanding of new strategies and skills	5	4	3	2	1
8) Teachers/departments/the school are/is able to assume ownership and control of the project to ensure sustainability	5	4	3	2	1
9) Teachers/departments/the school develop/s a comprehensive means of knowing if the strategies employed make a difference to the educational achievement of their students	5	4	3	2	1
10) Teachers have adequate time to plan and learn new skills and strategies	5	4	3	2	1
11) Teachers are supported by professional developers who are knowledgeable about the theoretical underpinnings of the model and able to demonstrate and practice the procedures	5	4	3	2	1
12) Teachers feel that they are participants in a dynamic model of professional development rather than being recipients of instruction	5	4	3	2	1

Summary

The professional development approach that we used is one where teachers and researchers first had planned opportunities to develop relationships. On the basis of these relationships both groups collaborated to set mutually agreeable goals, outcomes, protocols and parameters for success. Then instruction and demonstration was followed by opportunities for teachers to perform or practice the new procedures in an authentic classroom context with in-class support. The provision of ongoing and informed reflection and feedback (coaching) between teachers and researchers (as supporters) in the classroom context meant that researchers needed to make frequent visits to the classroom as part of the professional development. Working within classroom settings sought to provide mutual benefits to researchers and teachers. Researchers had opportunities to further connect theory to practice while teachers benefited from collaboration that generated critical reflection and collegial feedback.

Chapter 6: Results

Introduction

This chapter presents seven results of this project. These are:

- 1) Increase in teacher-student interactions; Traditional to Discursive
- 2) Increase in proximity of teachers to students (means more possibility of positive interactions)
- 3) Increase in cognitive level of class (expectations)
- 4) Increase in student academic engagement
- 5) Increase in student work completion
- 6) Increase in, or maintenance of, high levels of student attendance
- 7) Increase in student short-term achievement.

The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part presents the results that were gathered by way of the observation instrument. First are the changes in teacher behaviours followed by changes in student behaviours. These results are able to be presented in aggregate form because the method of data-gathering was consistent and methodologically regulated in all cases. The second part of this chapter presents the results of data gathered on student attendance and short-term student academic achievement measures. This data is presented according to the gains made by students in classes taught by the participant teachers. Individual target class results are reported here rather than in aggregate form (as in part one of this chapter) because school-generated summative assessment measures were mostly used and these varied from teacher to teacher and time to time. A summary table of all the variables (Table 7.1) is then presented in Chapter 7.

Part A: Results from the Observation Instrument

INTRODUCTION

In this part of this chapter, the results of the in-class observations (using Figure 5.3, Classroom Time Sample) are presented in aggregate form. The formal in-class observations were conducted in the classrooms early in Terms I, II and III of 2002. Where possible each formal in-class observation was followed by intensive feedback and feed-forward sessions plus group co-operative co-construction meetings and in-class, follow-up shadow-coaching sessions. The results presented in this part of the chapter show the changes that have taken place as a result of the observations and follow-up sessions.

The following tables present the combined results of the participating teachers in a variety of categories¹⁷:

- i) Percentage of class time targeted teacher-student interactions were observed;
- ii) Increase in proximity of teachers to students (means more possibility of positive interactions);
- iii) Increase in cognitive level of class (expectations);
- iv) Increase in student academic engagement;
- v) Increase in student work completion.

Note: Individual teachers' results are not presented here. Individual results were used for feedback and feed-forward purposes during the in-class intervention phase.

THE RESULTS

i) Percentage of Class Time Targeted Teacher-Student Interactions Were Observed: Measuring the Shift from Traditional to Discursive Classrooms.

Figures 6.1.1 to 6.1.3 show the percentage of time that targeted interactions took place between the 11 teachers and their students¹⁸ in the four schools. Three specific observations were carried out over the first three school terms of 2002. Each observation period is shown as a separate graph. The observation schedule allowed for a 15 second observation interval where 10 seconds were allowed for the specific observation and five seconds for recording of the data. Observations of teacher-student interactions were alternated with the observation of Māori students' engagement (Presented in Figure 6.2). The teacher-student interactions were further categorised in two separate ways. Firstly, was the teacher interacting with the whole class, an individual or a group? The following codes were used for recording this information: W, whole class; I, individual; G, group in the appropriate space. The second categorisation was concerned with the type of pedagogic interactions that were taking place. The following codes were used for recording these teacher-student interactions: C, co-construction; S, social interaction; FFA, feed-forward academic; FBA, feedback academic; P, prior learning/knowledge; FFB, feed-forward behaviour; FBB, feedback behaviour; M, monitoring and checking; I, instruction; O, other. All the feedback or feed-forward (academic and behaviour) observations were also evaluated in terms of being either positive or negative. Each bar on the graphs in Figures 6.1.1 to Figures 6.1.3 therefore show the percentage of time all of the teachers were engaged with particular pedagogic interactions. Each bar is then sub-divided into whole class, individual or group.

¹⁷ All the data presented in this section of Chapter 6 is presented in aggregate form.

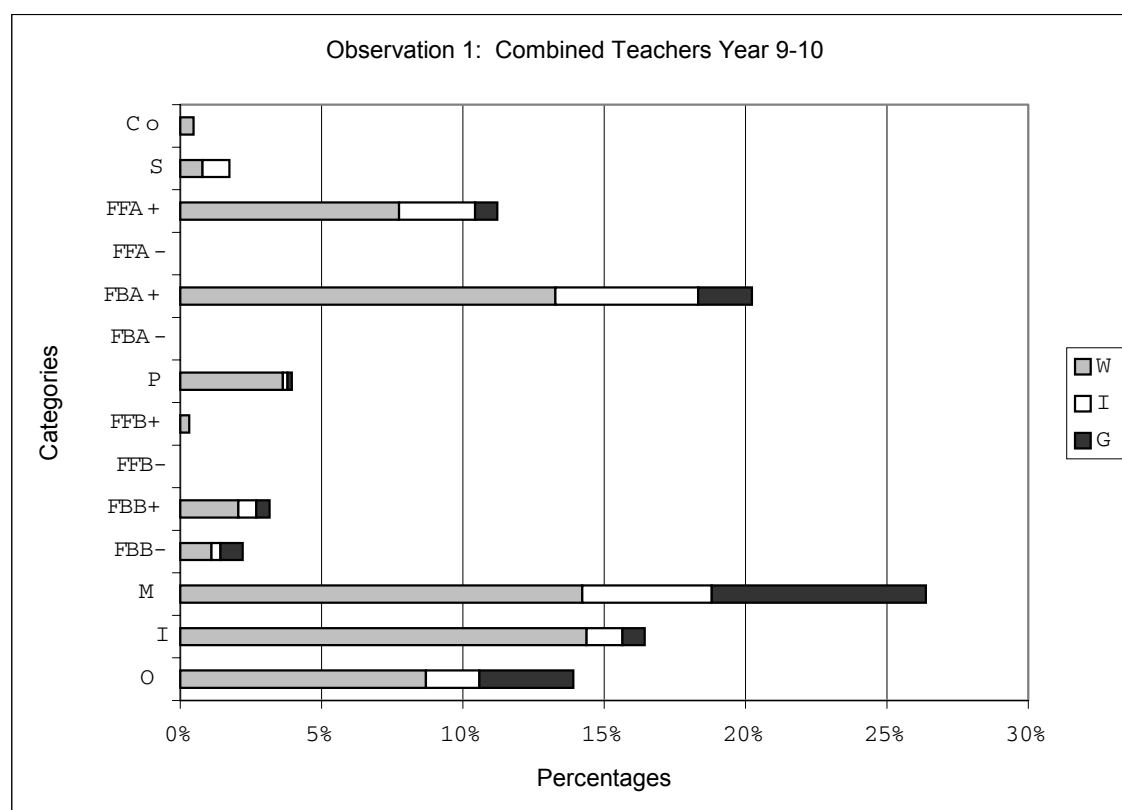
¹⁸ These students may not necessarily be all Māori students. They were the students with whom the teachers were interacting at the time of the specific observation.

Table 6.1. Teacher – Student Interaction Codes

C	Co-construction
S	Social interaction
FFA +	Feed-forward academic positive
FFA -	Feed-forward academic negative
FBA +	Feedback academic positive
FBA -	Feedback academic negative
P	Prior learning/knowledge
FFB +	Feed-forward behaviour positive
FFB -	Feed-forward behaviour negative
FBB +	Feedback behaviour positive
FBB -	Feedback behaviour negative
M	Monitoring and checking
I	Instruction
O	Other ¹⁹

¹⁹ Other includes all those activities that do not fit into those above and include clearing white board, preparing for the next lesson, marking the attendance register etc.

Figure 6.1.1 Observation 1 – Post-hui: Percentage of time targeted interactions were observed²⁰

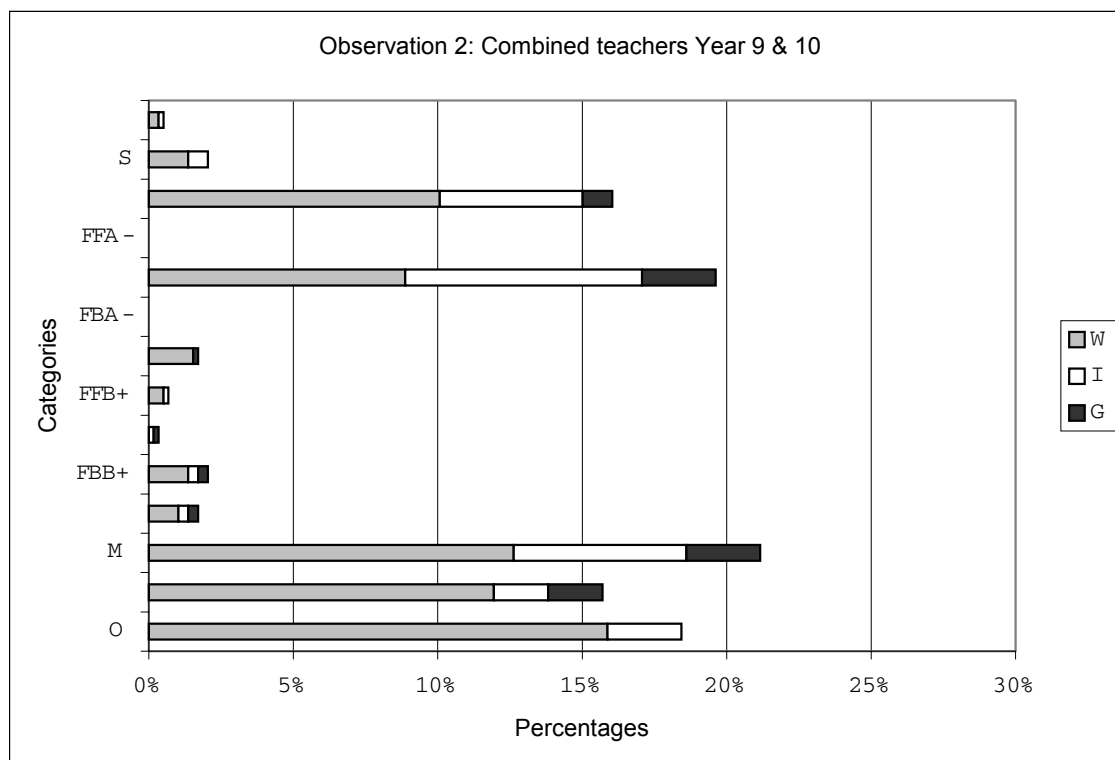


This graph shows the results of the combined observations of the 11 teachers early in Term I 2002, after they had been to the professional development hui²¹. It shows that the most commonly used pedagogic interaction were the teacher monitoring students' work, and from our observations this was usually following instructions. The next most common interaction was the provision of positive academic feedback to the students, while a relatively strong feed-forward academic strand was being provided to guide students' work. Behavioural feedback of any order was insignificant, possibly due to the fact that the project was emphasising academic feedback and feed-forward as being preferred interactions on the basis of the students' narratives.

²⁰ Generally, where most interactions are observed to be in the lower half of these graphs (including Figures 6.1.1, 6.1.2, 6.1.3) this is the pattern to be found in a traditional classroom. Where the interactions are observed as being mostly in the top half of the graph (including prior learning and up), then this is the pattern to be found in a discursive classroom. Please note that a) it is the shift that is critical and b) it would be very unlikely and perhaps unnecessary to move totally from one type of classroom to another, rather a balance as is shown in Figure 6.1.3 appears to be sufficient to bring about change in the achievement of Māori students.

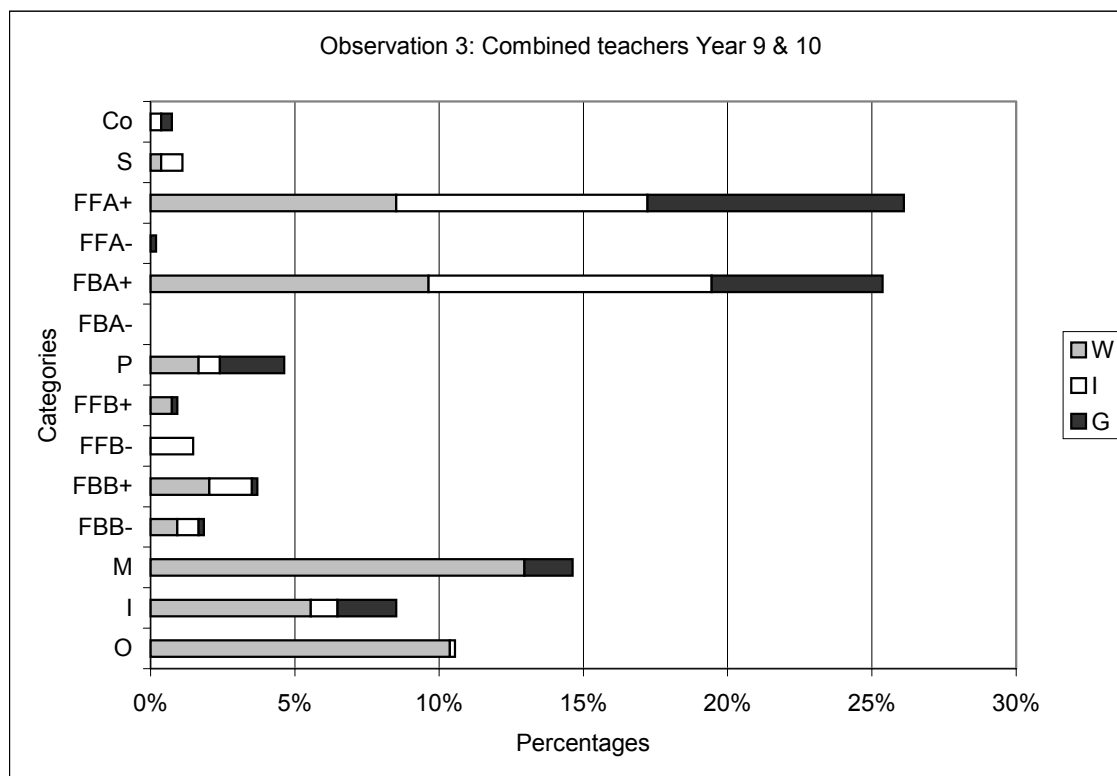
²¹ This is a significant point because our most recent experiences with undertaking observations of teachers in classrooms prior to attending the professional development hui shows a preponderance of interactions in the lower half of the graph, i.e. more traditional classrooms that are seen here.

Figure 6.1.2: Observation 2. Percentage of time targeted interactions were observed.



This graph shows the results of the combined observations of the 11 teachers undertaken early in Term II of 2002, that is one term after the first intervention. It shows very little change had taken place except that there had been a small increase in the amount of feed-forward of an academic nature being provided for the students and there had been a reduction in monitoring. From Term I and Term II there had been a slight reduction in whole class interactions.

Figure 6.1.3: Observation 3. Percentage of time targeted interactions were observed.



This graph shows the results of the combined observation of the 11 teachers early in Term III of 2002, that is again one term after the second observation. It shows a difference from the earlier graphs in the type of interactions that were common in the classroom. This difference may have been due to the teachers' increasing familiarity with the new approaches or more probably it was due to the increased in-class feedback and feed-forward that was provided for most of the teachers by the research team following Observation 2. This graph shows a marked reduction in instruction and monitoring and a marked increase in feedback and especially feed-forward being provided to students. Such evidence supports the results of Hattie's (1999) meta-analysis that indicate that "dollops of feedback" are very effective in raising achievement. However, of note in this graph is the limited use of co-construction and prior knowledge of students as a means of engaging students in learning more effectively. The limited use of these effective interactions could well indicate the focus for on-going professional development and follow-up research in the future. In other words, the observation tool provides very useful data to indicate what interaction patterns are prevalent in a teacher's classroom and can indicate what needs to be targeted for future professional development and research. Nevertheless, these results also should warn us against being too presumptive about the actual interactions being developed by particular strategies in the classroom. In this case feedback and feed-forward is the most popular interaction but it must be remembered that these interactions are taking place in a classroom wherein the teachers have changed their attitudes to Māori students' learning and are demonstrating their caring for Māori students at a number of levels.

Figures 6.1.1 to 6.1.3 show that there has been a general shift from a traditional transmission classroom pattern to a more interactive, discursive classroom pattern in the 11 classrooms studied. The interactions that are common in a traditional classroom are those below P for prior knowledge on the diagram. Those including P and above are generally the type of interactions to be found in an

interactive, discursive classroom. In this example, Figure 6.1.1 shows that 66% of the interactions are of the traditional type (see table 6.2) while 34% are of the discursive type. Table 6.2 also shows that only 46% of the interactions were of the traditional type by observation three and the interactive, discursive percentage was 54, an increase of some 20% on the earlier observation.

Table 6.2: Interaction patterns: Te Kotahitanga (4 schools – Terms I, II & III, 2002 (12 teachers)

	Traditional	Discursive
Obs 1	66%	34%
Obs 2	62%	38%
Obs 3	46%	54%

The indicators of this shift are shown, when in Figure 6.1.1 it is clear that many of the interactions are of the order of instruction to transmit knowledge and monitoring by teachers of the up-take of this knowledge by the students. Please note that this observation is post-professional development hui where the benefits of feedback and feed-forward were explained. Therefore, because the research team were not able to undertake pre-professional development hui observations (due to shortage of time), these results show that it is likely that changes had already taken place. A clearer picture of classroom interactions has been identified in a later application of this observation schedule in Terms III and IV of 2002 in the Te Kauhua professional development sub-contract where observations were done prior to the teachers attending the professional development hui. In this latter case with 46 teachers the pre-intervention ratio of traditional to discursive is 72% to 28% respectively. We would suggest that this figure would be more likely to reflect the interaction patterns in the four targeted schools of the current study prior to the professional development hui.

It is clear from this data that the hui itself has an effect on the teaching of the participant teachers reducing the amount of observed incidents when they are interacting with students in a traditional manner.

The next phase of the intervention, that is the in-class observation, feedback, feed-forward, co-construction sessions and shadow-coaching account for the rest of the shift, especially when the quantity and quality of the intervention was increased for most of the teachers in Term II of 2002. As will be shown in Part C of this chapter, where this next phase was not able to be carried out satisfactorily, then the results are not so positive.

ii) Increase in Proximity of Teachers to Students (Means More Possibility of Positive Interactions)

Table 6.3 shows the average of 10 recordings for each of the teachers thereby identifying shifts in the teachers' physical positioning.

Table 6.3: Movement in teacher positioning

	Positioned at front of class	Positioned throughout class
Observation 1	4.5	5.5
Observation 2	4.2	5.8
Observation 3	3.0	7.0

Table 6.4 shows the average of ten recordings for each of the targeted Māori students' seating arrangements.

Table 6.4: Student positioning

	Positioned at front of class	Positioned throughout class
Observation 1	0.7	4.3
Observation 2	0.8	4.2
Observation 3	0.7	4.3

This observation was undertaken because it shows how the change from a traditional to discursive classroom can change the opportunities for Māori students and their teachers to interact in ways that are meaningful to the students' learning. In the more traditional classroom of observation 1, the teachers are more likely to be at the front of the room, (45% of the time; near the whiteboard or overhead projector as the means of transmitting knowledge to the students,) and occupying what Philpott (1993) identifies as the traditional "zone of interaction". That is, only students who are close to the front or the centre of the room are able to interact with the teacher in a meaningful way. Few Māori students were physically positioned within the traditional zone of interaction. They have to talk or shout across the class, not something that many Māori students are comfortable with.

Table 6.3 shows that in the more traditional classroom (Observations 1 & 2), the teacher is distanced from most of the targeted Māori students whereas as the classroom changes to a more discursive model (Observation 3), through the use of strategies that allow the teacher more opportunity to move around the room, they are able to interact more effectively with Māori students. In this case the teachers (see Observation 3) are able to spend some 70% of the time on average moving round the room. As a result of this change there is a much greater chance that Māori students will be able to engage at a more conversational level with their teachers. During the classroom observations and from their narratives, it was clear to the researchers that the Māori students preferred this arrangement. The teacher using discursive strategies such as co-operative learning for example, allowed themselves time and space to interact with students in small groups or on a more one-to-one, conversational manner. In

addition it was observed that greater proximity between teachers and students allowed for better behavioural control by the teachers of students who may want to “act up” and more importantly, as the nature of the discursive classroom really began to be operationalised, the students were able to ask questions of the teacher, thus generating appropriate specific and targeted feedback and feed-forward interactions between the teachers and the Māori students. This pattern can be seen in Figure 6.1.3. where it is shown that as the classroom becomes more discursive, the teacher is able to interact with more individuals and groups (more than two students at once but less than the whole class) rather than interacting with the whole class. Strategies that allow purposeful work for students while teachers engage with individuals and small groups are identified in part five of the Effective Teaching Profile in Chapter 4 and these strategies allow the teachers to create contexts for learning where different interaction patterns are able to occur.

iii) Increase in Cognitive Level of Class (Indicates the Level of Teacher Expectations)

Table 6.5 shows the shift that occurred in the cognitive level planned for by the teacher in the lessons observed by the researchers.

Table 6.5: Shift in the cognitive level planned for by the teacher

	Shift in cognitive level shown on a 1 to 5 continuum				
Observation 1	1	2	3	4	5
			X		
Observation 2	1	2	3	4	5
			X		
Observation 3	1	2	3	4	5
				X	

Table 6.5 shows the change in the cognitive level of the lessons that were observed. For this observation, a subjective call was made by the observer, following discussion among the research team as to what constituted the categories 1 to 5, of the level of difficulty that was being expected of the students. This is a very useful figure when taken individually as it helps to indicate changes in teacher expectations when taken in conjunction with engagement and work-completion data. It is also a useful figure when related to engagement and work completion as it can indicate what these variables can really mean in terms of the level of work that should be expected of students at the specific levels.

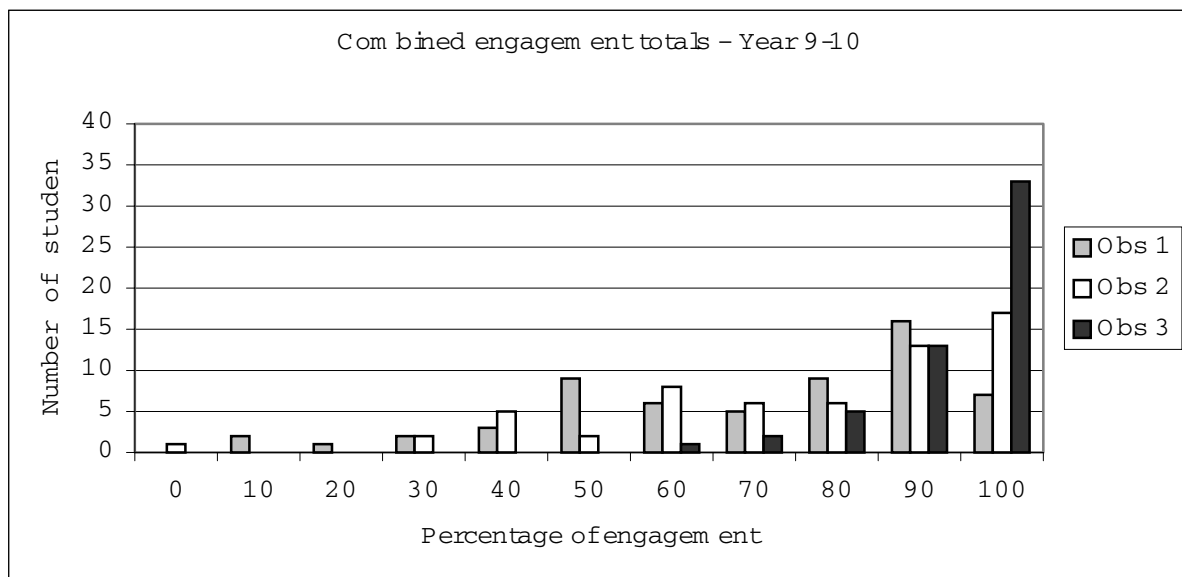
When averaged, however as is shown in Table 6.5, it shows a slow improvement over the three observation periods (essentially two terms of school time) from 3.5. to 4.1 on a scale of 5 where 1 is “not challenging” and 5 is “challenging”. This would indicate that there is room for improvement in setting cognitive challenges for Māori students. It would indicate, and this is probably a realistic result given the limited interactive time, that the participant teachers are both still teaching to the middle of the class (as is common practice in secondary school classrooms) and/or they have lower expectations of their students than they might well have. This is yet a further indication that such an intervention

project needs to be longer term than this project was in order to cement changes in place, to raise teachers' expectations and to ensure long-term sustainability.

iv) Increase in Student Academic Engagement

Figure 6.2 shows the mean change in targeted student engagement over the three observations (Figure 6.2). Observations of students targeted student behaviour throughout sets of 10-second intervals. Student behaviour considered to be engaged (on task/off task) resulted in the interval being scored “√” (engaged). If no instances of engaged behaviour occurred the interval was scored “X” (not engaged).

Figure 6.2: Combined engagement totals



Academic on-task engagement was selected as it is a good to moderate predictor of long-term achievement, and given the short-term nature of this project (essentially two-plus terms in schools or working with teachers) there was a need for a means of predicting if the short-term gains (identified in the second part of this chapter) would carry over given time as is identified by Fisher et al (1981).

Figure 6.2 (above) and Table 6.6. (below) show the shifts in student engagement from Observations 1 to 3, that is from Term I to early Term III of 2002. It shows that after two terms of intervention in the form of professional development hui and in-class support, 85% of the students in the 12 teachers' classes were engaged for 90% or more of their time in class. The other 15% were engaged between 60% and 80% of their time. This compares with Observation 1 figures where only 38% were engaged for 90% or more of their time and nearly a third of the students were engaged for 50% or less of observed class time.

Table 6.6 Shifts in student engagement

		Observation 1		Observation 2		Observation 3	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
% engagement	90/100%	23	38%	30	50%	46	85%
	60/80%	20	33%	20	33%	8	15%
	0/50%	17	29%	10	17%	0	0%
		60	100%	60	100%	54*	100%

* This number is lower than previous observations because one student was absent at this time and one teacher withdrew prior at this point. i.e. reducing the data by five more students.

v) Increase in Student Work Completion

Table 6.7 Shift in student engagement and corresponding shift in work completion

	% of Engagement time	Work completed ²² 1 to 5 ranking
Observation 1	71.85	3.3
Observation 2	77.92	3.96
Observation 3	92.95	4.5

Table 6.7 shows changes in the percentage of students engagement as an average of the averages of the five targeted students in the 11 target classes in relation to the average of the average work completed by the five target students in the 11 target classes.

This data show that as the average percentage of engagement increases from 71.85% to 92.5% there is also an increase in work completed by the students as measured on a 1-5 scale from 3.3 to 4.5. In other words, the work completed by students has moved from just over two-thirds to nearly all that expected and/or negotiated.

It is important to note that individual differences are disguised by this averaging and for the purpose of feedback to teachers, individual results might indicate variety between engagement and work completed, that in conjunction with the cognitive level of the lesson will indicate the level of the teachers expectations, and thus might indicate an area for focussed professional development.

SUMMARY OF PART A

In conclusion, it can be seen that a number of changes occurs when teachers are assisted to undertake a change from traditional, transmission type classrooms to more interactive, discursive classrooms. They can be categorised broadly into two groups; quantitative and qualitative changes.

²² See page 153 for details.

Quantitative Changes

Quantitatively, the number and range of interactions increases as the shift from a traditional classroom takes place. These changes identify how teachers move from a concentration on instruction (for product learning) monitoring and behavioural feedback to a wider range of interactions where they give some instruction, some monitoring and behaviour recognition while increasing their acknowledgement of students' prior learning and their responding to student-initiated interactions by giving academic feedback and feed-forward to co-constructing the content and process of learning with students as co-learners. In addition, teachers change whom they interact with in terms of the whole class/individual and group mix²³.

The general pattern that arises from all the observations is that as teachers move towards a more discursive classroom, they spend less time interacting with the whole class and more time with individuals and/or groups. In this research it was observed that these teachers did this by engaging the student in structured co-operative learning strategies that had been introduced at the professional development hui by Brown and Thompson (2000). However, these are by no means the only strategies available to teachers and further professional development for these teachers could well result in their moving even further along the traditional-discursive continuum by concentrating on recognising and using student prior knowledge and learning as well as engaging in co-construction of curriculum and lesson content and processes with the students.

Qualitative Changes

There is also a qualitative change that takes place with this shift from traditional to discursive classroom, when the nature of the interactions changes, for example, where instruction no longer is product/content focussed but becomes process orientated. For example, instruction in a discursive classroom might consist of how to conduct a co-operative learning activity or it might be a very focussed mini-lecture to provide some specific student-identified need. Monitoring also changes from testing for compliance, content reception or understanding of instructions to monitoring of learning processes.

In addition, as teachers change their classroom interactions from traditional transmission to an interactive discursive mode, they change the way they relate to students at the level of academic interactions due to their being more available to interact on a on-to-one or small-group level rather than in a whole class-teacher mode.

With the shift comes an increase in student engagement and work completed and a shift in the cognitive level of the class work presented to students.

What is not shown in the observation schedule is how teachers demonstrate their caring for students as culturally located human beings, a factor that will be included when this schedule is modified for future studies of this kind. However, this current observation schedule does allow the researcher to identify changes in teacher expectations but this could also well be made more explicit in future iterations of this research instrument.

²³ In our pre-professional development hui observations of the 46 teachers involved in the subsequent Te Kauhua project, we have observed that most teachers use instruction, monitoring and feedback behaviours to the whole class as their most common strategies.

Like most studies, there is much more that can be done but at least this observation, albeit only in a limited number of classrooms and for a limited amount of time does indicate its usefulness for indicating the changes in teacher-student interrelationships and interactions that could lead to improving the educational achievement of Māori students in mainstream classrooms.

Part B: Student Attendance and Achievement

INTRODUCTION

This part of the chapter reports on the achievement gains of the Māori students whose teachers participated in the professional development exercise. Despite the limited period of time of this intervention (six months), there are some noticeable improvements in achievement of Māori students in the classes taught by some of the teachers in this project, that is, those teachers who were able to be supported to an appropriate level within their classrooms. Data is representative of each school's programme and does vary. Given the short span of this study there was no time to develop a comprehensive and consistent quantitative assessment strategy across all sites nor perhaps would this be such a good idea because classroom achievement measures are as close to what counts for students and what we can potentially generalise about as is possible. Therefore in most cases, school-generated assessment data has been used. In addition, our own assessment monitoring was undertaken by analysis of pre- and post-intervention cloze and writing samples and this data is included for Schools 3 and 4²⁴.

SCHOOL ONE (TEACHERS 1 AND 2)

School One Profile

School One is a Decile 4, rural secondary school. At this school the participating teachers (two teachers) and classes were in the Science and Mathematics subject areas. The school roll in July 2002 was as follows:

- **School Roll Numbers**

Table 6.8: School One Numbers

Year	Boys	Girls	Total
09	70	71	141
10	71	71	142
11	59	65	124
12	70	156	226
13	17	19	36
			669

²⁴ Schools 1 and 2 did not wish us to use this approach.

- **Ethnicity**

Table 6.9: School One Ethnic Composition

	Male	Female	Totals
NZ European/Pākeha	243	245	488
Māori	46	123	169
Other European	1	2	3
Samoan	1	3	4
Indian	2	2	4
Other	1	0	1

- **Class Organisation**

There were six mixed ability classes in both Year 9 and 10 at this school. English, Science, Social Studies and Physical Education were taught in core classes but Mathematics was taught in two groups of three achievement-banded classes. The two target classes taught by the two target teachers in this school were drawn from one Year 9 class (9H) and one Year 10 class (10NH).

This school has an academic programme in Year 9 and 10 that leads to a Junior Diploma. Credits towards the Junior Diploma are assessed in a similar way to NCEA. The base from which students' achievement is assessed is established at entry, from a variety of normed and school constructed tests that cover all areas of the curriculum. Students can also gain credits for "self-management", which includes doing their homework regularly, participation in sporting and cultural activities, attendance, cooperation and participation in class. At the end of each term, students receive a report that shows how many credits, out of the possible number of available credits, they have received. At the same time, a profile of each student and each subject is created. This enables class teachers or departments to evaluate the term's achievements or investigate, in terms of their programme, results that are of concern. The data in these reports are expressed as "*Added Value Move*". It is this data that has been used to illustrate the progress of the target classes, 9H and 10NH during the research project. Data from Teacher 1's class, the Year 10 students, are presented first. This is then followed with data from Teacher 2's Year 9 students.

Results

STUDENT ATTENDANCE

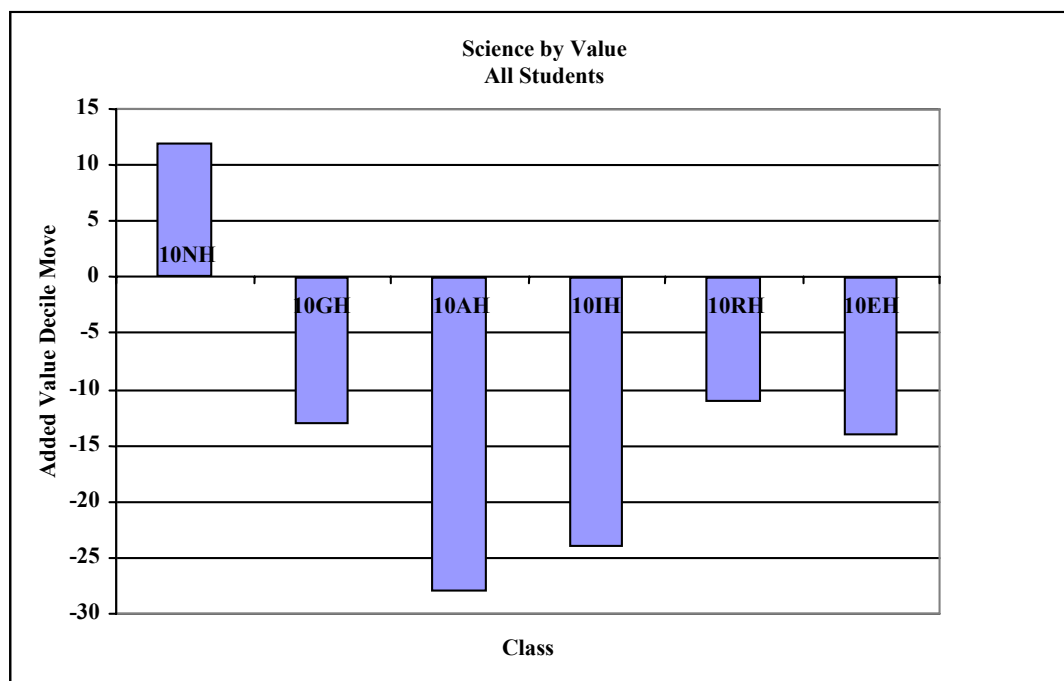
Attendance was not an issue at this school because the systems in the school kept a close track on the whereabouts of all students.

STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT DATA

Teacher 1 (School 1)

The target class taught by Teacher 1 in this set of figures is 10NH, a Science class.

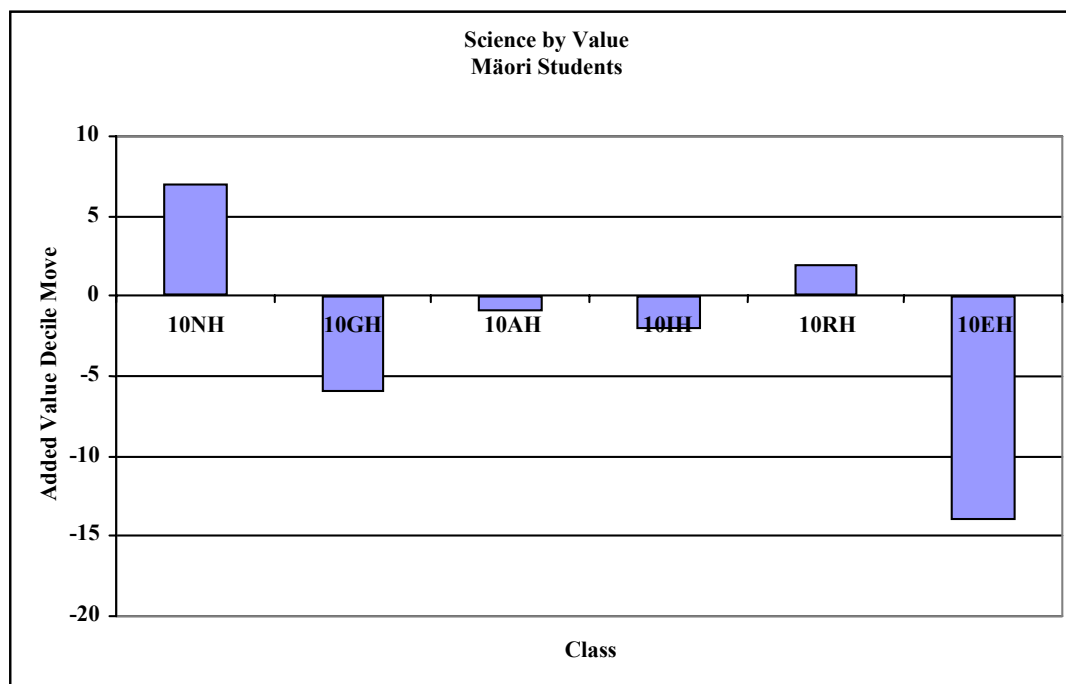
Figure 6.3: Added-Value Moves (by Value) for all Students in Year 10 Science Classes.



For each Science class in Year 10, calculations were made to determine the net gain or loss of the “Added Value Move”. This was established by collating the results of unit assessments for each student. For example, in 10NH, 20 students maintained or improved their scores by 24; and six students reduced their scores by 12, (i.e. $+24 + -12 = +12$). The resultant added value move for 10NH was 12. The same calculations were made for each Year 10 Science class. These results have been plotted in Figure 6.3.

From the chart it can be seen that only 10NH has improved their academic outputs in Science. All other classes in this Year 10 cohort have not.

Figure 6.4: Added-Value Moves (by Value) for Māori Students in Year 10 Science Classes.



In Figure 6.4, the same calculations were made to establish the “Added Value Move” for the Māori students in each Year 10 Science class. The Māori students in 10NH have gained more in Science than the rest of the Year 10 Māori cohort.

- **Control Teachers for Comparison Purposes (non-intervention subjects)**

Mathematics for Year 10 (a non-intervention subject)

The same calculations as shown in Figures 6.3 and 6.4 were made in Mathematics (Figures 6.5 and 6.6) and Social Studies (Figures 6.7 and 6.8) to demonstrate the performance of the Year 10 classes in these subjects. These classes were not taught by teachers participating in the project. These results are included in this report to demonstrate the effectiveness of the teaching interventions in the target Science classroom.

Figure 6.5: Added-Value Moves (by Value) for all Students in Year 10 Mathematics Classes.

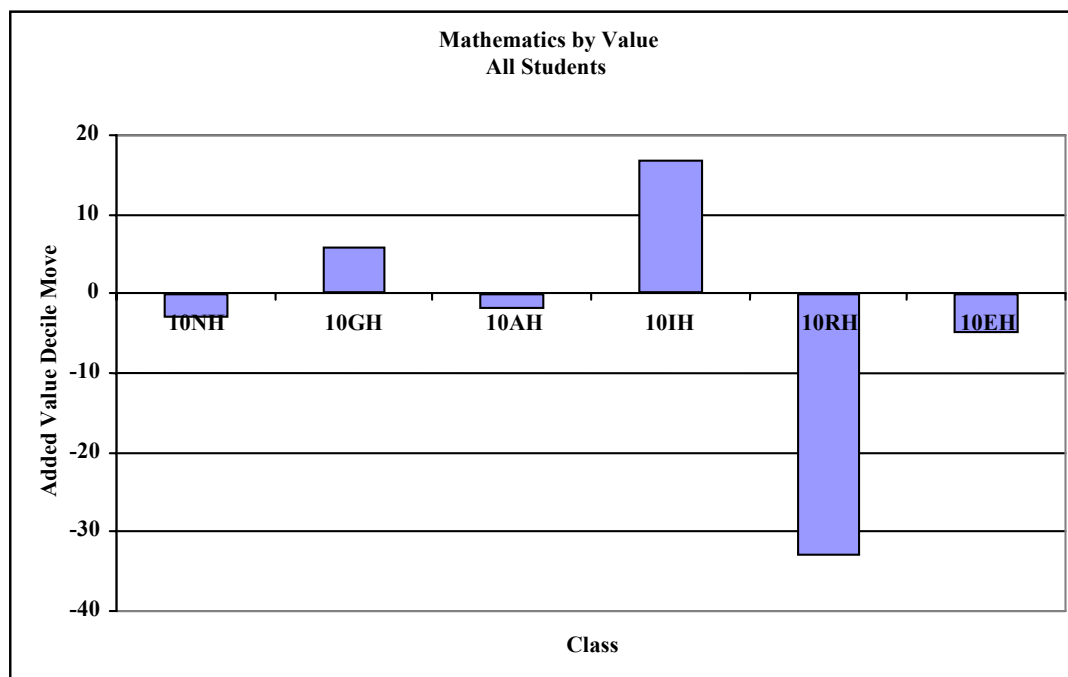


Figure 6.5 shows that in two classes, students' added value to their commencing score. In all other classes, including the target class 10NH, the overall scores for the class went down. In other words, where all factors were kept the same except where the teacher worked in the professional development exercise, students in 10NH out-performed their peers. This improvement however, did not carry over to the other subjects thus indicating that in this case supporting the teacher by way of professional development had an impact on raising student achievement in this class.

Figure 6.6. Added-Value Moves (by Value) for Māori Students in Year 10 Mathematics Classes.

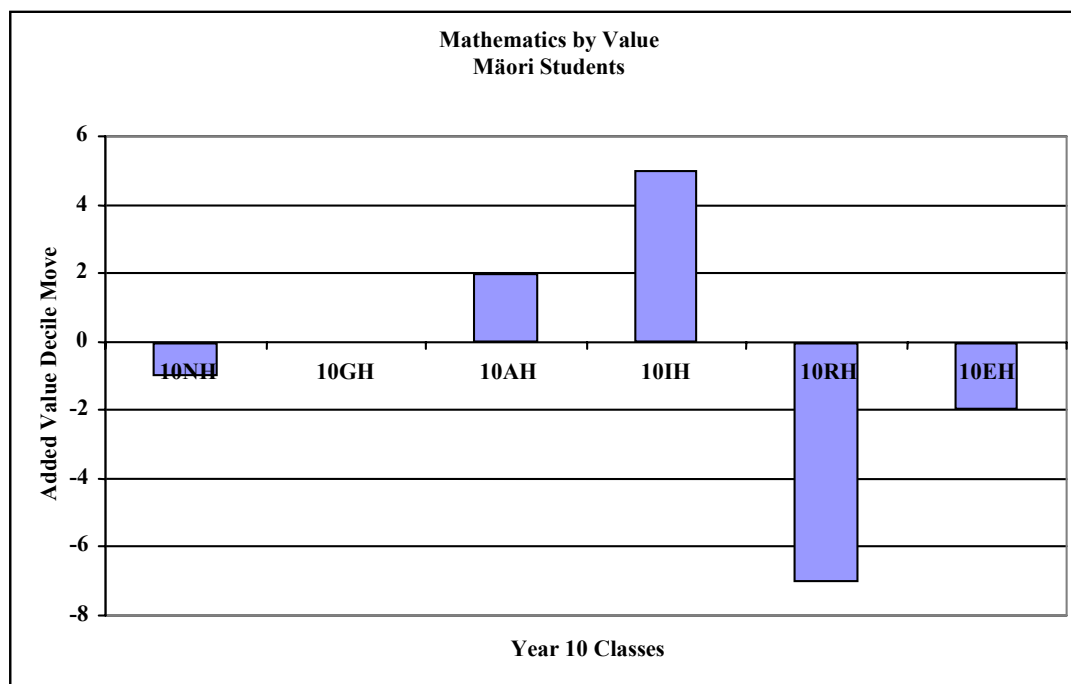


Figure 6.6 shows that in Mathematics, a non-intervention subject, the Māori students in 10NH lost value on their scores whereas in Science they had made gains.

Social Studies (a non-intervention subject)

Figure 6.7: Added-Value Moves (by Value) for all Students in Year 10 Social Studies Classes.

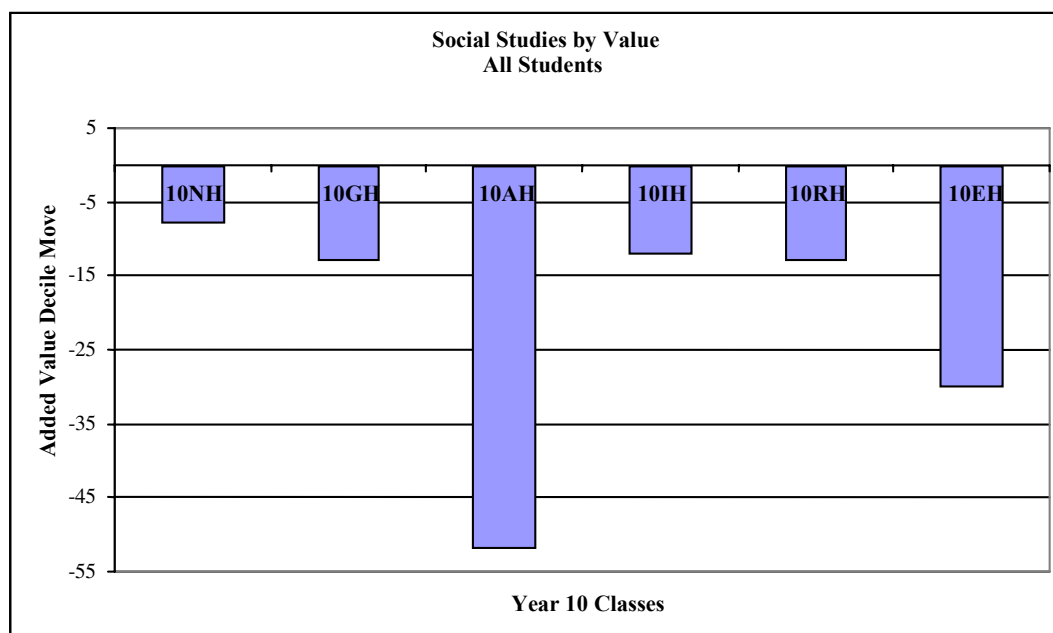
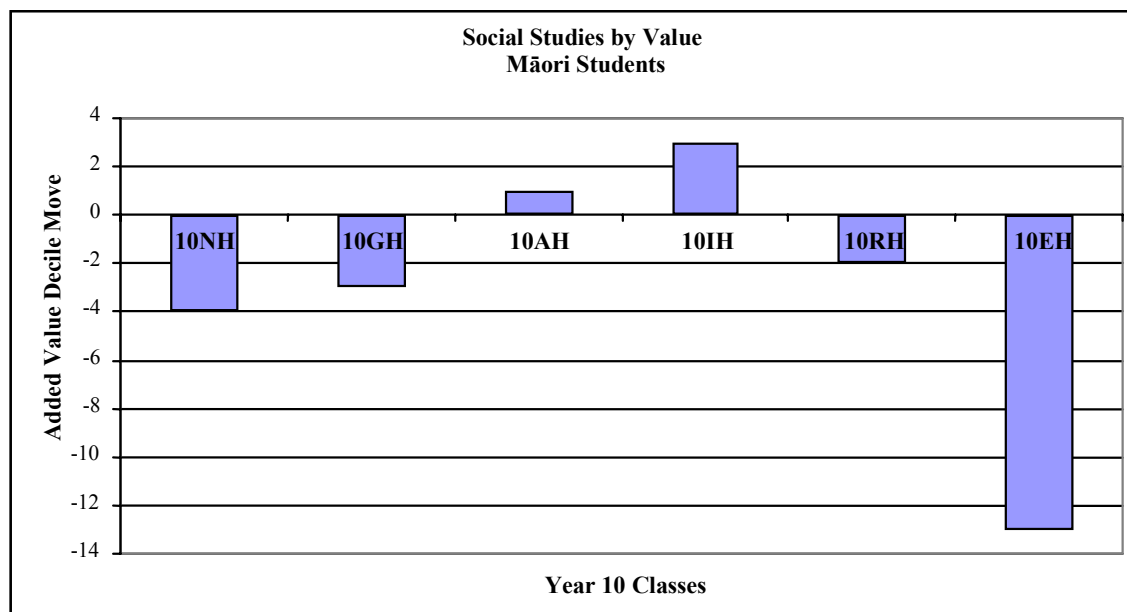


Figure 6.7 shows that overall the students in Year 10 Social Studies did not add value to their scores. Figure 6.8 shows that in two of the classes Māori students did improve their value. However, 10NH Māori students did not improve their scores (see Figure 6.8).

Figure 6.8: Added-Value Moves (by Value) for Māori Students in Year 10 Social Studies Classes.



- **Summary for Teacher 1 and 10NH Science**

Based on the available core subject results (i.e. Mathematics, Social Studies and Science), the Māori students in 10NH achieved positive academic results only in Science, which was the subject taught by one of the participating target teachers. As a whole class, the students of 10NH made a gain of 12 points. The Māori students in this class contributed 7 of these 12 points. In other words, in Science, the Māori students made progress at a rate similar to other members of the class whereas in their other subjects, they did not make these gains. The major variable that changed for these students was the way their Science teacher related to and interacted with them.

Teacher 2 (School 1)

At this school, Mathematics in Year 9 is taught in two halves of the timetable. In each half, classes are broadly banded into three achievement-based classes. The target class, 9H, is the bottom of three in Group A.

NB. The same calculations used for 10NH are being used here.

Figure 6.9: Added-Value Moves (by Value) for all Students in Year 9 Mathematics Classes.

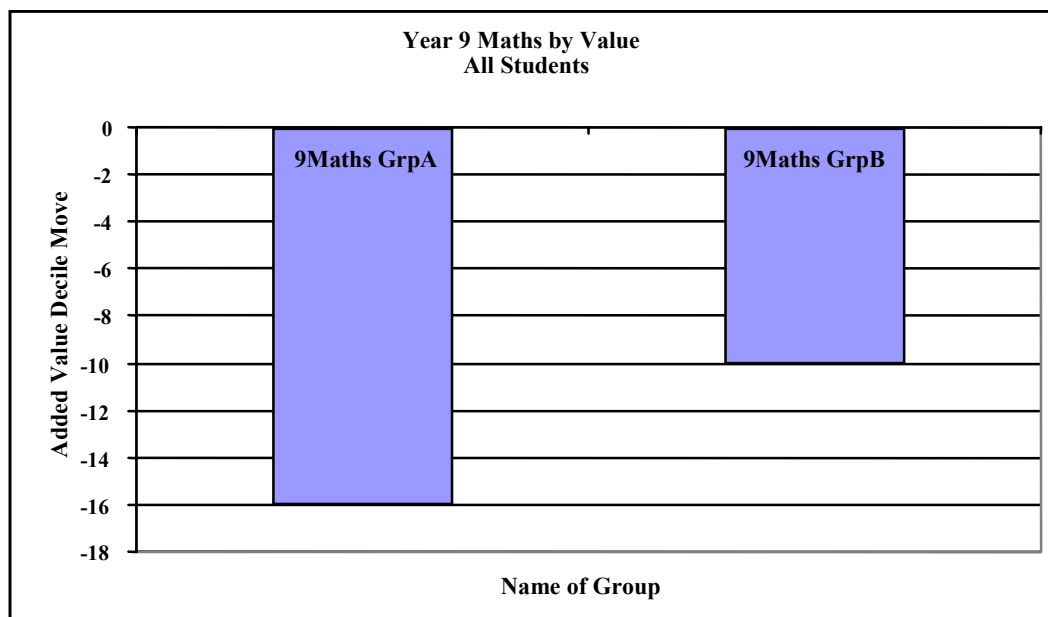
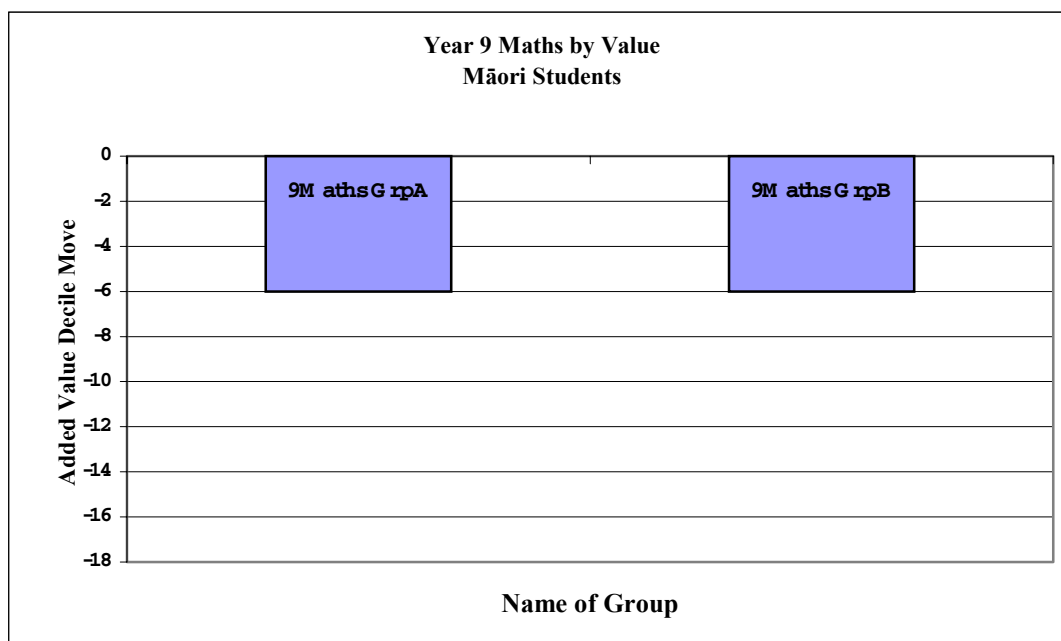


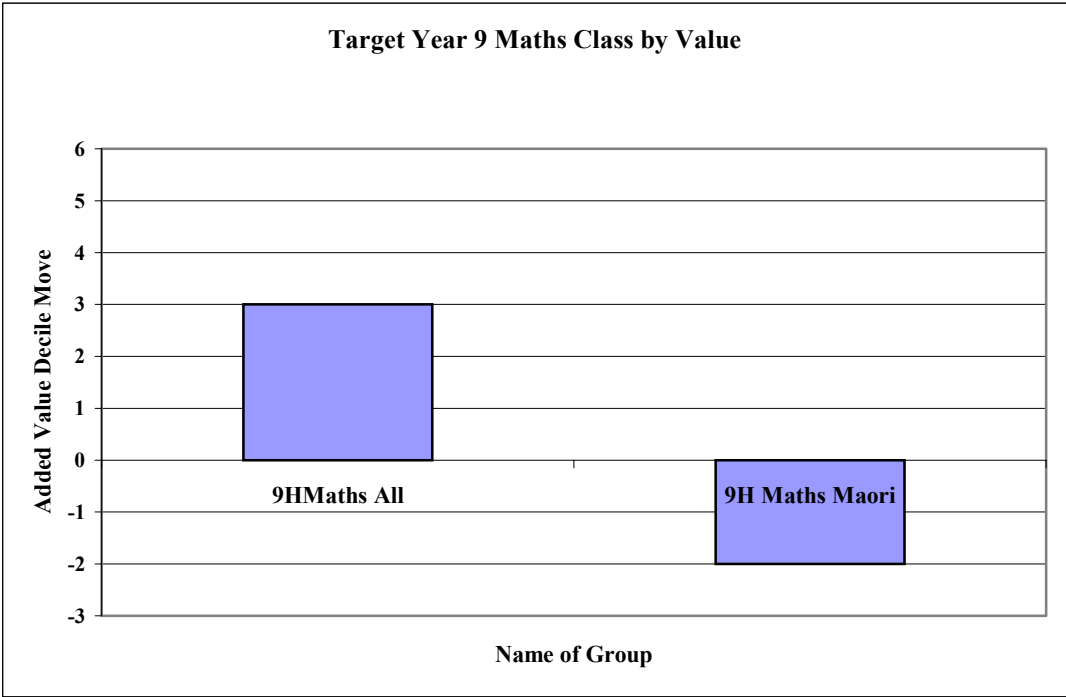
Figure 6.10: Added-Value Moves (by Value) for Māori students in Year 9 Mathematics Classes.



Figures 6.9 and 6.10 show that neither Group A nor Group B added value to their scores in Year 9 Mathematics. Māori students contributed -6 points to the results for both groups. That is in Group A non-Māori contributed -10 points and in Group B -4 points.

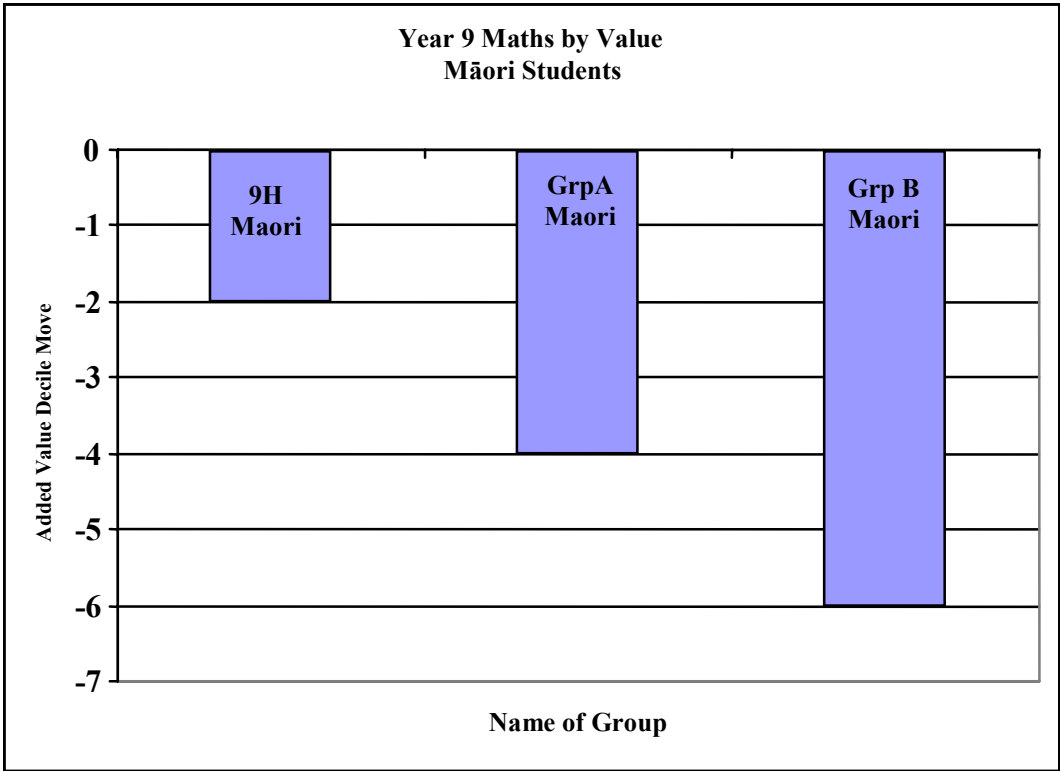
However, in the target class (9H, part of Group A) as a whole, the class added value to their scores in Mathematics (Figure 6.11). 9H made a gain of 3 points.

Figure 6.11: Added-Value Moves (by Value) for all Students in the target class 9H.



The Māori students in the class appear not to have made positive gains. However when they are compared to the rest of the Māori students in Year 9 (Figure 6.12), a difference can be seen.

Figure 6.12. Comparison of 9H Added-Value Moves (by Value) with other Māori students in Year 9 Mathematics Classes



- **Outcome for the Māori Students in 9H Mathematics**

When 9H Māori students are removed from Group A and compared with the other Māori students in the Year 9 cohort, it is clear that the Māori students in 9H have not reduced their academic performance as much as have the other Year 9 Māori students.

Summary for School One

The Year 10 data for School One has shown a positive gain in achievement for the targeted class (10NH) in Science. For year 9 Mathematics, the achievement gain is not as clear. It should be noted that the students within this target class (9H) were bottom-streamed, however when compared to the progress of the other classes within the Year 9 cohort, the target class has achieved better than the Māori students in the other Year 9 Mathematics classes.

SCHOOL TWO (TEACHERS 3, 4, 5 AND 6)

School Two Profile

School Two is a Decile 2, large city, co-educational secondary school. Four teachers remained throughout the duration of the in class observations and training. One teacher taught Year 10 English, one teacher Year 10 Science, and one teacher Year 10 Social Studies. The fourth teacher taught a Year 9 home classroom. Because of the specific nature of the homeroom class academic data was not collected for comparison. These students were not part of any curriculum or year wide assessment probes. The school roll in July 2002 was as follows:

- **School Roll Numbers**

Table 6.10: Student Numbers in School Two by Age

Age	Male	Female	Total
12	1	1	2
13	143	145	288
14	150	201	351
15	146	115	261
16	75	80	155
17	56	54	110
18	24	22	46
19	5	7	12
20+	3	2	5
	603	627	1230

- **Ethnicity**

Table 6.11: Ethnicity of Students in School Two

	Male	Female	Totals
NZ European/Pākeha	189	199	388
Maōri	266	307	573
Other European	12	8	20
Samoan	35	29	64
Cook Island Māori	20	14	34
Tongan	8	5	13
Niue	1	2	3
Fijian	4	1	5
Tokelauan	1		1
Other Pacific islands	13	6	19
South East Asian	1	7	8
Indian	17	20	37
Chinese	1	3	4
Other Asian	4	3	7
Other	3	11	14
MFAT & FFP students	28	12	40
			1230

- **Class Organisation**

The Year 9 and 10 classes in this school were organised by ability. There were 12.5 classes at each level. The top two can only be entered by participating in competitive examinations in Form 2 to gain a place. These examination-based classes were called “academic”. There are two academic-streams (4AcX, 4AcY), two A-streams (4AU, 4AV), eight “mixed” ability (i.e. a mixture of those students who remain after the top three classes have been removed, 4XT, 4XA, 4XB, 4XC, 4XD, 4XE, 4XF, 4XG), one of these being the whānau class (4XG), and half a learning support class at each level.

A Year 10 class (4XT) was especially created for the research project at the commencement of 2001. This class was to be taught by three of the targeted teachers. All but four of the 28 students in this class were Māori (86%). Apart from the whānau class, 4XG, which were all identified as Māori, 4XT had the largest percentage of Māori students in Year 10. The other “mixed” ability classes reflected more closely the school’s Māori population of approximately 47%. These students were put in this class because the school authorities had identified that many of them were at risk of being sent from the school because of behavioural issues, transience or school refusal. A few students were in this class because they had failed to reach their perceived academic achievement level in Year 9. The four non-Māori students were put in the class by mistake. After consultation with these non-Māori students and their caregivers, an opportunity was given for them to leave the class in Week 4 of Term I,

however all declined to do so. These students were taught by Teacher 3 (Science), Teacher 4 (English) and Teacher 5 (Social Studies).

The students in the Year 9 Homeroom class were taught by Teacher 6. They had been placed in this class for two reasons. Firstly, there was a belief that these students would have difficulty adjusting to the usual secondary school system of many different teachers per day. Secondly, the students' intermediate teachers had identified that these students displayed either behavioural or academic issues that needed to be addressed.

Results

STUDENT ATTENDANCE

Year 10 Target Class

One of the major behavioural issues that needed addressing in this class was attendance. As can be seen in Figure 6.13, the number of unexplained absences in 2001 from the students in the target class averaged 8.3% with one student reaching 29%. During 2001 these students were spread among all the third form classes and in most cases were considered by staff to be “challenging” students (Figure 6.13). Many of these students were absent from class for at least one period in the morning or afternoon. However, absenteeism for a morning or an afternoon was recorded only when students were absent from at least two classes. Therefore, this graph only represents the time when the student was absent, without explanation and for at least two periods of the morning or afternoon. Anecdotal evidence from the students themselves suggests that this graph does not represent the full magnitude of the absenteeism problem for these students in 2001.

Figure 6.13: Attendance of 4XT Students in 2001.

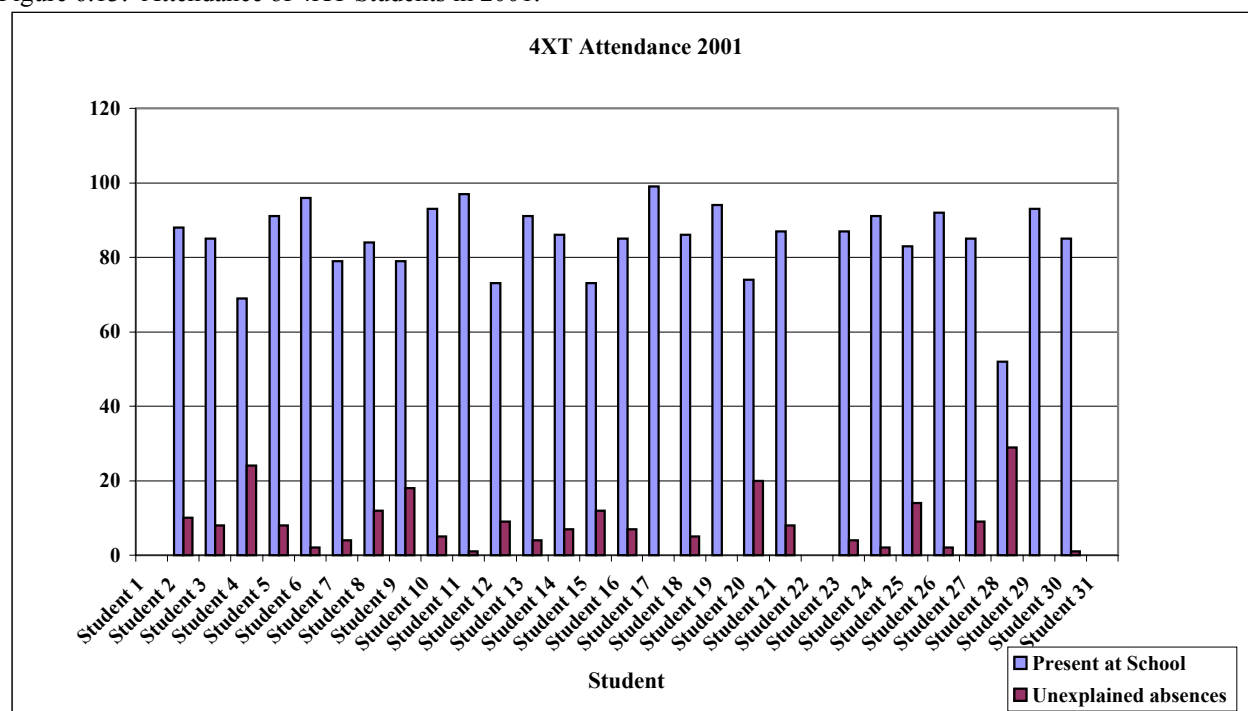


Figure 6.14: Attendance of 4XT Students in 2002.

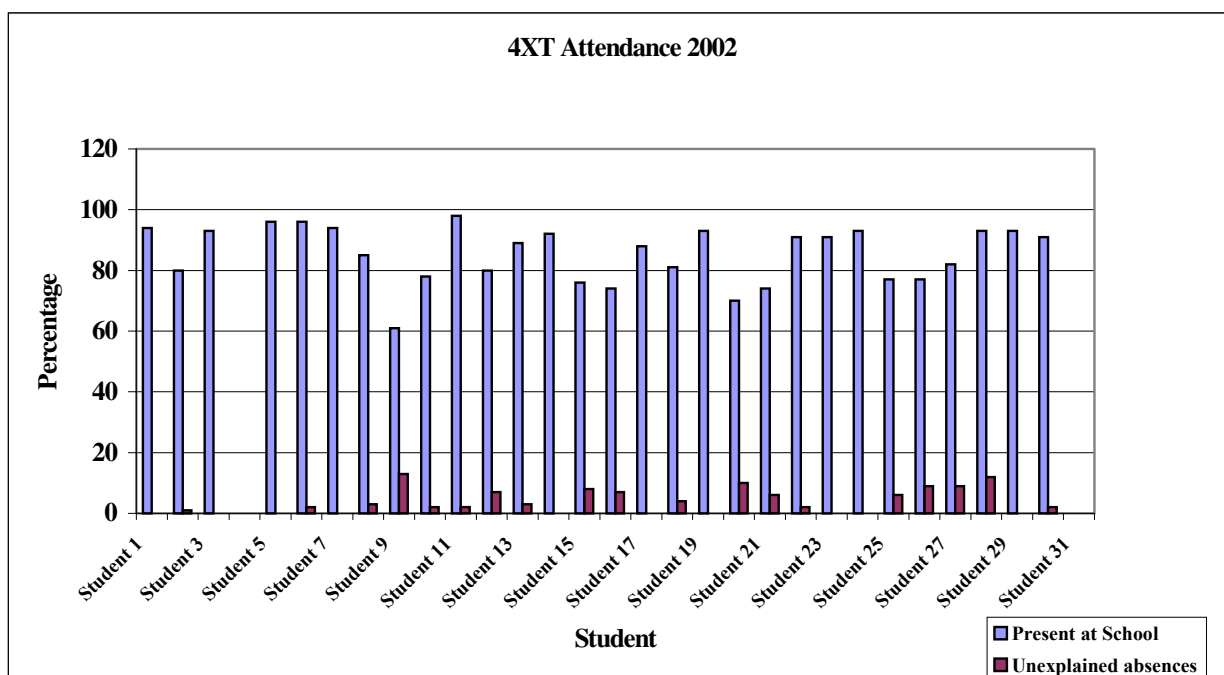


Table 6.12: Mean Percentage of Attendance and Absences of students in the target class from 2001 to 2002

Target Class		Percentage of time Absent		
Year	Attendance	Total	Unexplained	Explained
2001	78	22	8.3	13.7
2002	86	14	3.6	10.4

Since the beginning of 2002, the average percentage of student attendance for 4XT had increased (by 8%). In 2001, of the 22% of absences recorded, 8.3% were unexplained and 13.7% were explained. In 2002 this had improved considerably. Of the 14% of absences recorded only 3.6% were unexplained and 10.4% were explained.

At the end of Term I the students in 4XT responded to an evaluation sheet about their experiences in Term I in the three target teacher classes (Science, English and Social Studies). One of the questions asked was:

Do you wag these classes?

- 5 *Never*
- 4 *Used to*
- 3 *Once only*
- 2 *More than twice, but less than five times*
- 1 *Often*

	Frequency (n=27)
5	13
4	4
3	4
2	4
1	2

This data indicates that, at the end of Term I, a number of students still wagged classes. This question was asked again at the end of Term II and the results were as follows:

	Frequency (n=27)
5 <i>Never</i>	27
4 <i>Used to</i>	
3 <i>Once only</i>	1
2 <i>More than twice, but less than five times</i>	
1 <i>Often</i>	

This data indicates that only one has wagged the target classes since the end of Term I.

Note: no data was collected for the Year 9 target class.

In effect, the students of 4XT have shown positive improvements in attendance in association with changes made by three of their teachers (who were target participants in the research project) through the introduction of the Effective Teaching Profile and follow-up in-class support. The reduction in absenteeism in 4XT has been accompanied by an increase in their engagement in class activities (see previous chapter) and as the next set of data shows, improvements in academic achievement.

STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT DATA

Teacher 3 (School 2)

Table 6.13: Comparison of student results Year 10 Science School 2 Teacher 3

	4XT*	4XA	4XB	4XC	4XD	4XE	4XF	4XG	4AU	4AV	4AcY	4AcX
Excellence	0	1	0	1	1	3	0	0	6	10	14	5
Merit	10	9	1	4	8	8	3	3	18	17	11	21
Achieved	13	10	15	12	15	8	11	16	5	1	0	0
Not Achieved	0	4	0	1	2	3	3	0	0	0	1	0
Absent	3	3	14	9	2	0	6	2	2	3	0	0
Total	26	27	30	27	28	22	23	21	31	31	26	26

* **Target class**

4XG Ex-Homeroom class

4XH Te Reo class

4Ac1 A stream class

4Ac2 A stream class

4Ac3 Academic Institute class

4Ac4 Academic Institute class

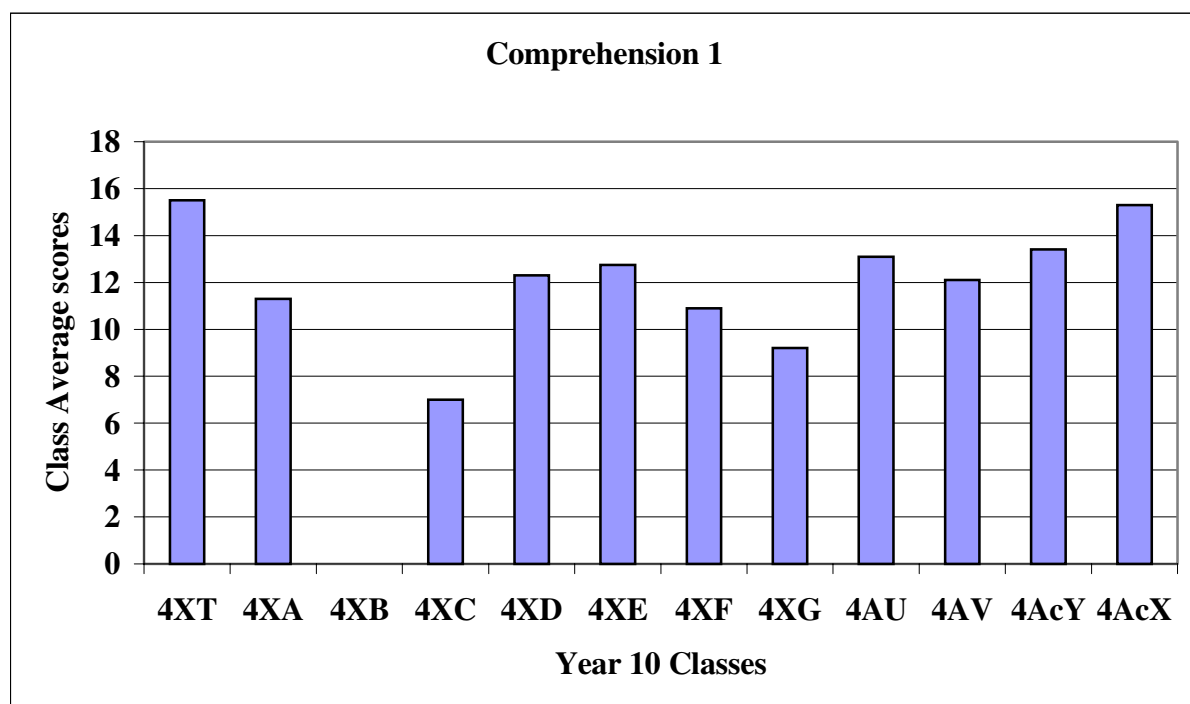
The figures in Table 6.13 indicate that the performance of the mixed ability classes, including 4XT, the target class, tends to gravitate towards the medium. However, the figures also suggest that the target class was performing at a slightly higher level, compared to the other mixed ability classes. Teacher 3 has also commented that the target class was achieving almost as well as her other class,

which was one of the 4Ac classes. Finally, the absence level for the target class was among the lowest for the mixed ability classes.

Teacher 4 (School 2)

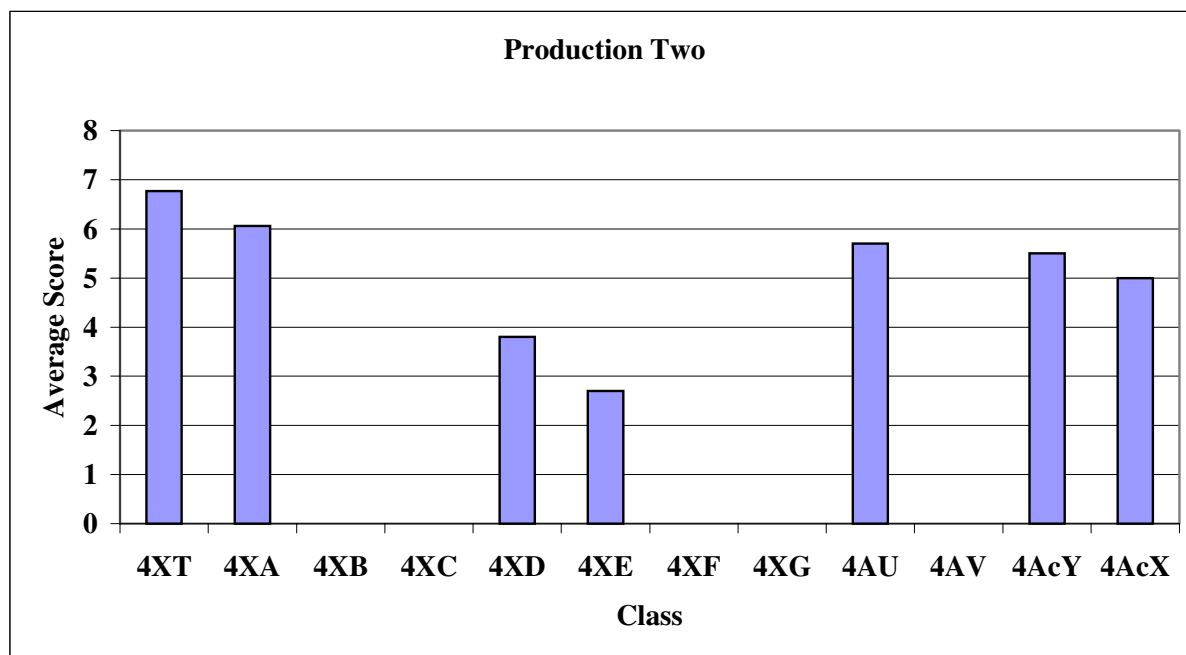
A variety of methods for evaluating and recording academic achievement are used within this school, with assessment practices depending largely on the subject and department. In English, cross-level testing is done at the end of each unit. Due to resource restrictions, units are rotated across classes meaning that the same unit is not always completed at the same time across the entire Year level. The following data has been taken from the English marks for the Year 10 target class (4XT). Marking of each English unit was done by a group of teachers when each class had completed the unit. This allowed for a degree of moderation despite the time lapse between classes completing units and explains why there are differing numbers of results available for analysis at the time of data collection (end of Term III). Academic achievement data for English only is presented in this report. However, anecdotal evidence from the teacher of Social Studies suggests that these English achievement results are comparable to those achieved in the final cross-level Social Studies examination by 4XT, i.e. XT is ranked ahead of all other mixed ability classes in both English and Social Studies.

Figure 6.15: Cross-level Assessment – Production One



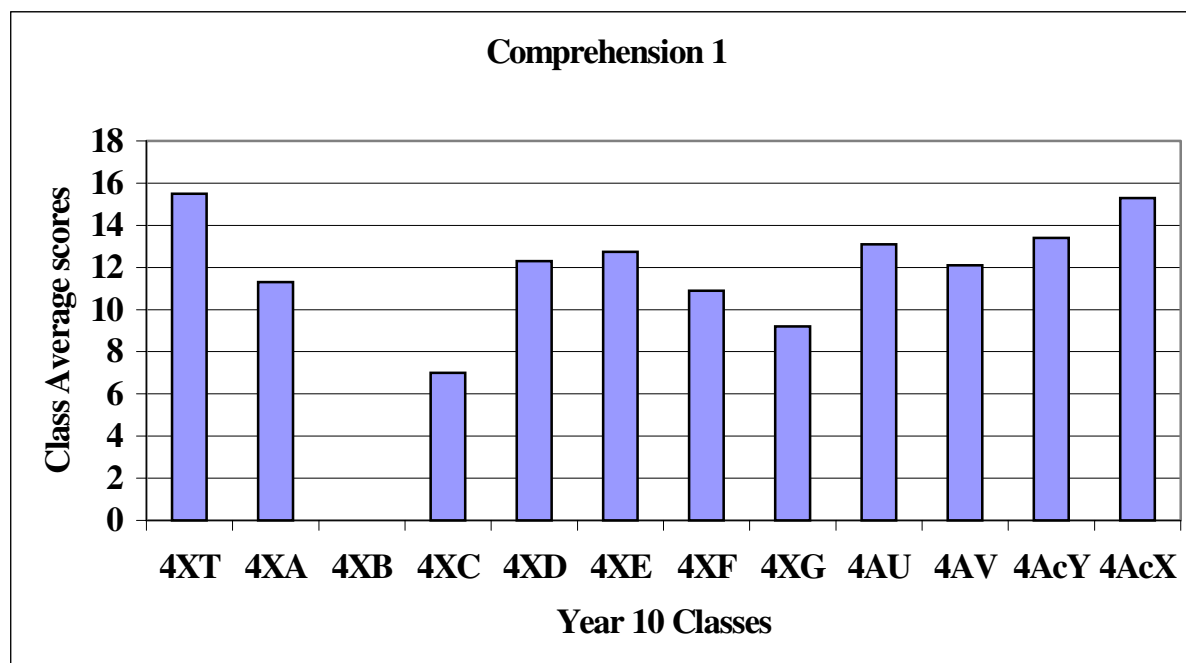
This unit was the first that 4XT studied in English in 2002. It was used to arouse their interest in English quickly because of the “fun” element. At this early stage 4XT were not committed to completing their work and handing it in for assessment. 4XT performed on a par with two “mixed” ability classes and ahead of three others. They were behind one of the A-stream classes and both of the academic classes. This assessment was worth 10 marks.

Figure 6.16: Cross-level Assessment – Production Two.



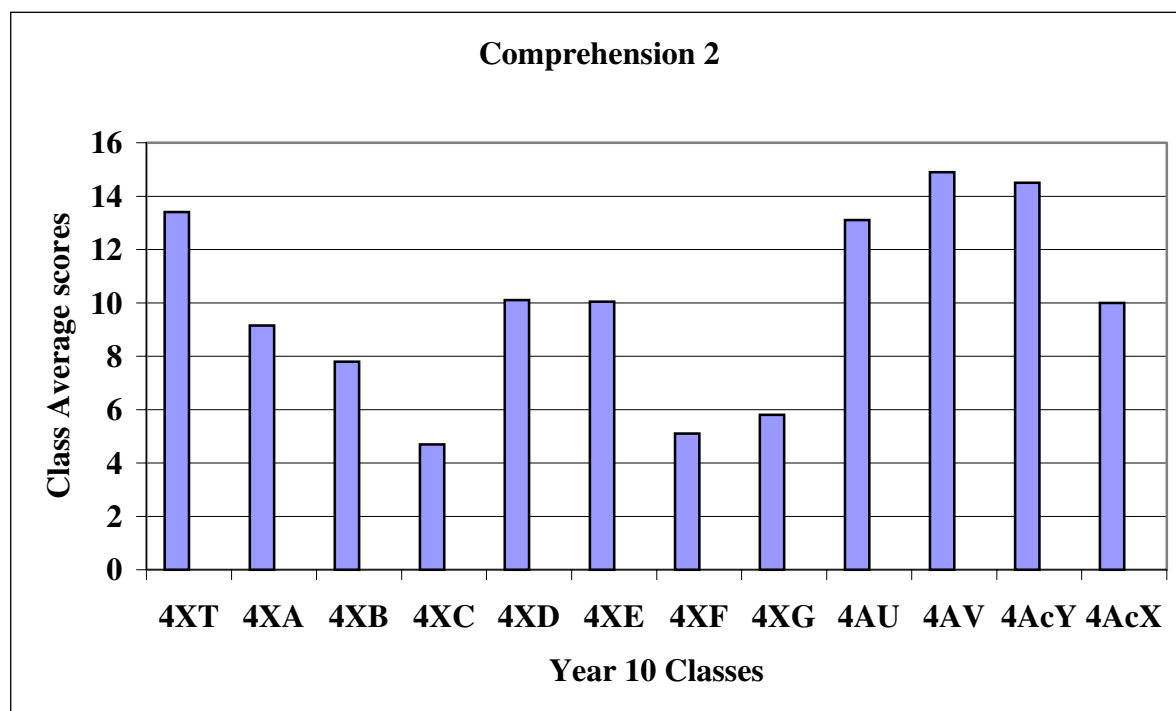
The second production unit showed improved achievement by 4XT. 4XT were ahead of all classes whose results were available at this time including the A-stream class and the two academic stream classes on the right of the graph. This assessment was worth 10 marks.

Figure 6.17: Cross-level Assessment - Comprehension One



The average score for the 30-mark test for 4XT in this unit was 15.5. This score was almost 3 marks higher than the next “mixed” ability class, ahead of two A-stream classes, and equal with and better than the two academic classes, which consist mostly of non-Māori students (Figure 6.17).

Figure 6.18: Cross-level Assessment - Comprehension Two



In the second comprehension unit test (30 marks), 4XT maintained their marks when compared with the “mixed” ability classes. One academic class (4AcX) scored significantly less than 4XT in this unit.

- **Cross-level Comparisons of Māori Students only**

Within each Year 10 class were varying numbers of self-identified and registered Māori students for whom subject marks were collated.

Table 6.14 (below) shows the type of class and the number of Māori students in each class. The average class size was 28 students.

Table 6.14: Māori Students in Year 10 in School 2.

Class	Type	Number of Māori students
4XT	“Mixed” ability class	24
4XA	“Mixed” ability class	13
4XB	“Mixed” ability class	12
4XC	“Mixed” ability class	15
4XD	“Mixed” ability class	14
4XE	“Mixed” ability class	17
4XF	“Mixed” ability class	14
4XG	“Mixed” ability whānau class	20
4AU	A Stream	9
4AV	A Stream	9
4AcX	Academic Stream	6
4AcY	Academic Stream	6

When the results for the self-identified Māori students in four of the cross-level tests (Comprehension One and Two, Speeches and Writing) were compared, the achievement of the Māori students whose teachers participated in the research project, was higher than for those Māori students in other classes. Comprehension One was completed by all classes during Terms I and II of 2002. Testing took place between Week seven and Week 11 for the target class and for 4XA, 4XE, 4XF and 4XG. The remainder of the classes completed the assessments prior to first reports being issued in mid-July. One class was yet to enter their results onto the central mark register.

Figure 6.19: Comparison of the results of Māori students in the Year 10 Comprehension One assessment.

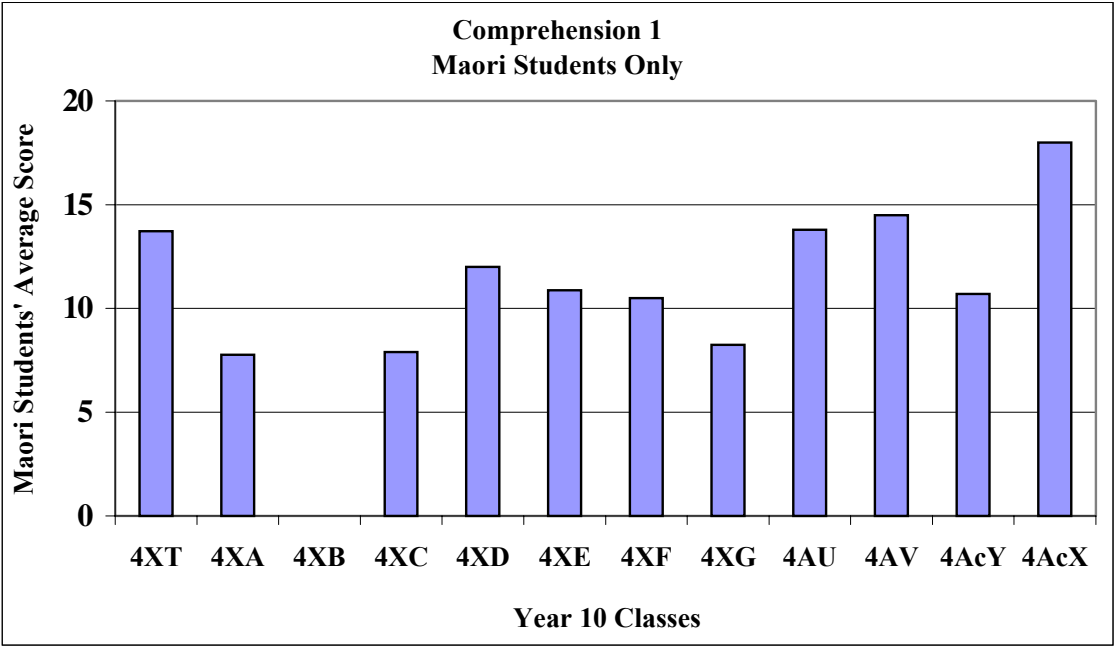
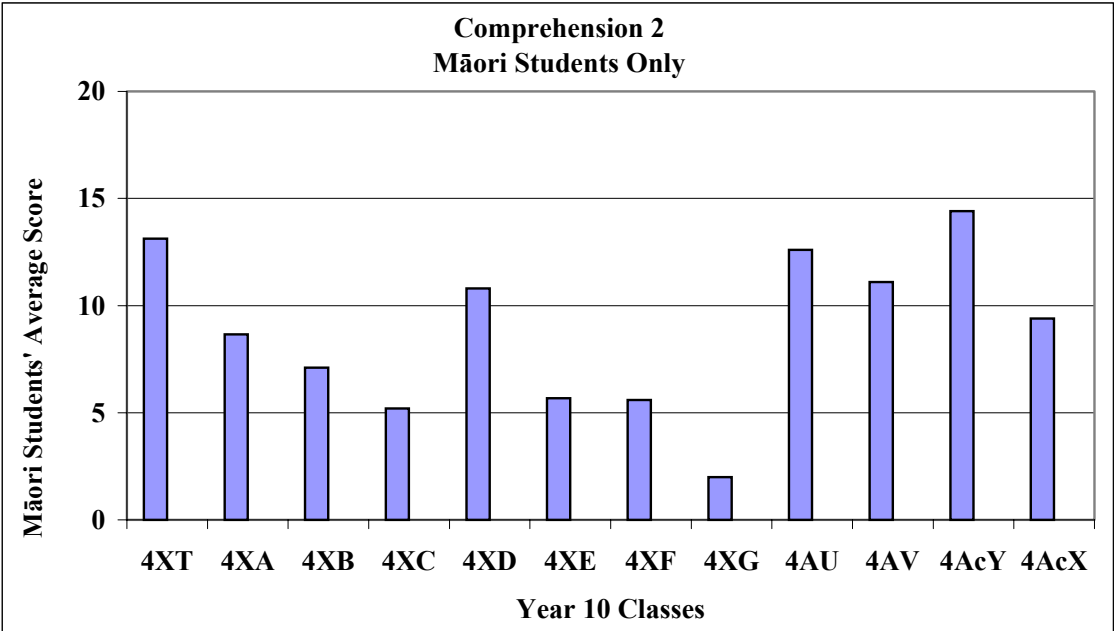


Figure 6.19 shows the average score of the Māori students in each of the classes. When compared with Figure 6.18 (all students), the six Māori students in 4AcX have an average score of 18 but the 25 Māori students in 4XT have an average score of 13.8. The range between the Māori students in these two classes is 4.2. However, in Figure 6.20, the results for Comprehension Two show that 4XT surpassed 4AcX Māori students’ average by 3.7.

Figure 6.20: Comparison of the results of Māori students in the Year 10 Comprehension Two assessment.

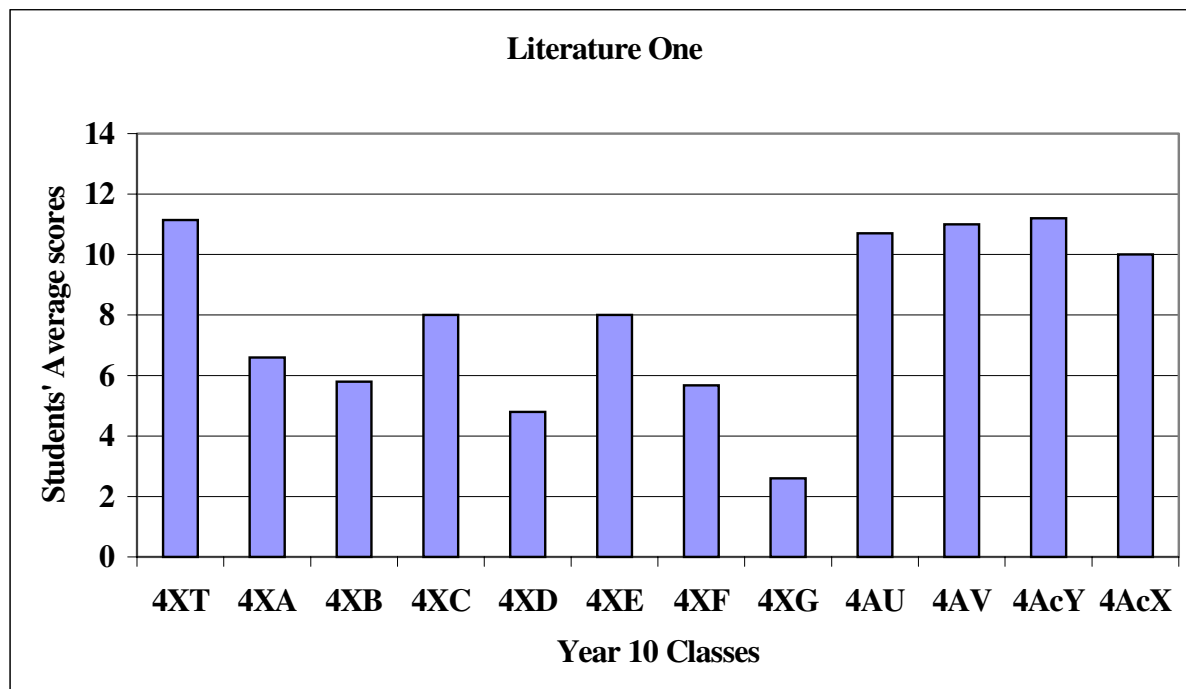


While the achievement of the 4XT Māori students in Comprehension is important, the average score differences between classes in which no teaching intervention has taken place is another critical piece of evidence. As can be seen in Figure 6.20, 4XT has increased their average score over most of the other classes, with only one of the academic classes (4AcY) having a higher average score difference.

- **Other assessment results**

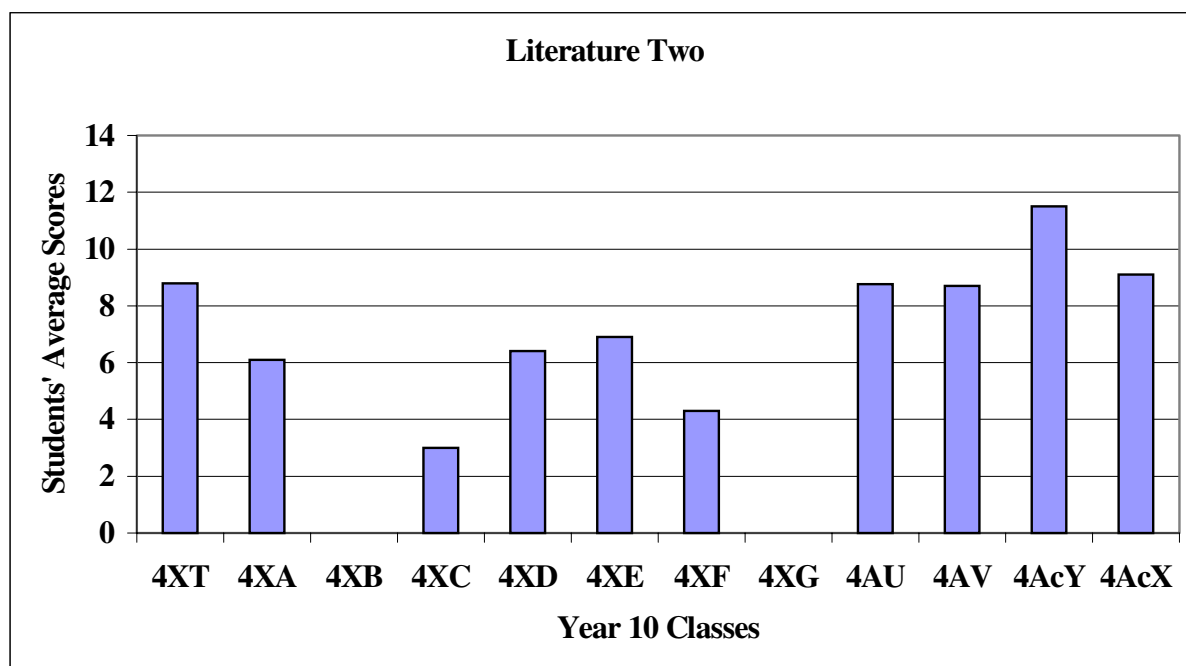
The following figures 6.21 through to 6.27 provide results from other English tests undertaken throughout the year.

Figure 6.21: Cross-level Assessment - Literature One



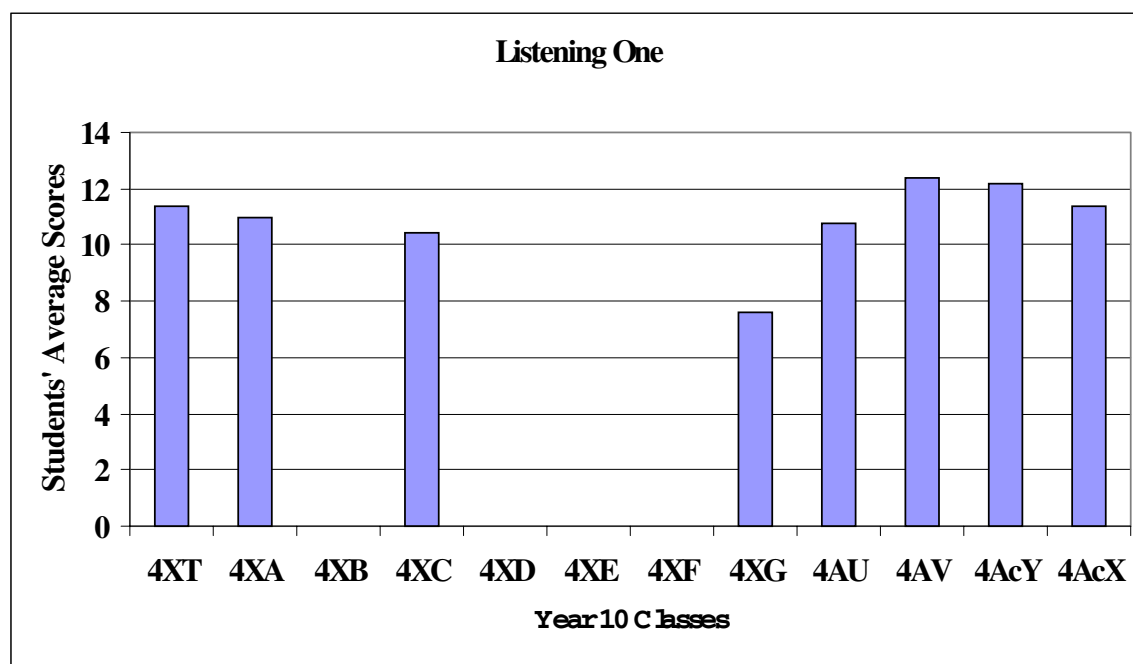
This cross-level assessment required students to gather together multiple resources to respond to the set topic. 4XT had an average score result six points ahead of all other “mixed” ability groups and on a par or better than the A-stream classes. This assessment was worth 20 marks.

Figure 6.22: Cross-level Assessment - Literature Two.



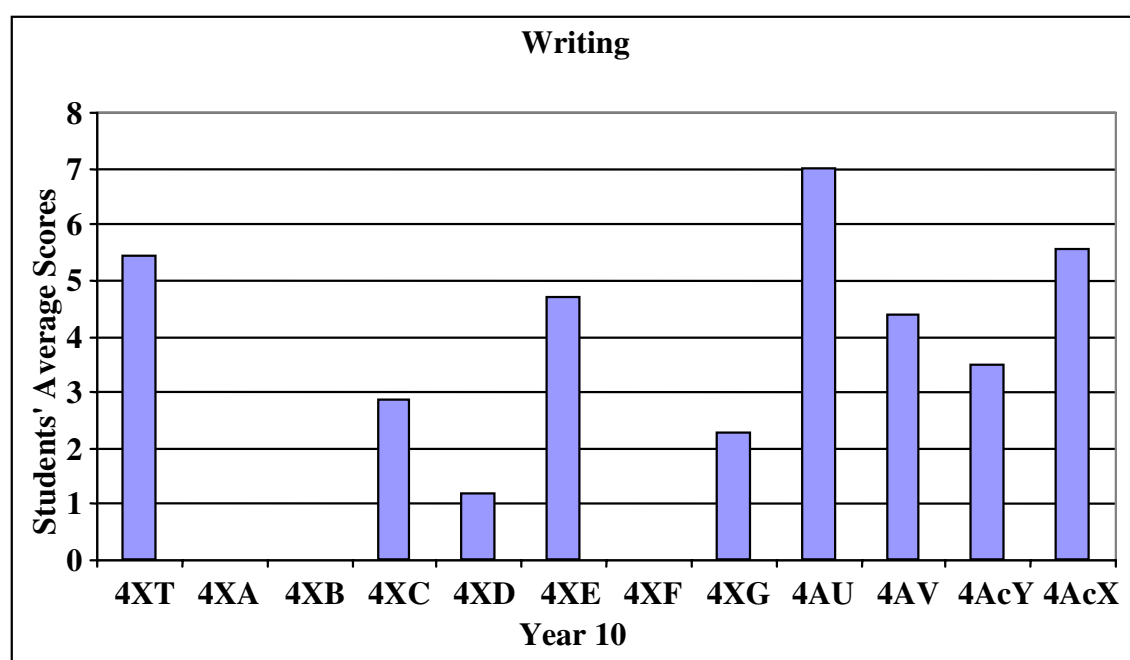
In Literature Two, 4XT achieved as well as 4AU and 4AV but did not achieve as well as 4AcX and 4AcY. The assessment for this unit involved writing under strict examination conditions. This assessment was worth 20 marks.

Figure 6.23: Cross-level Assessment – Listening One.



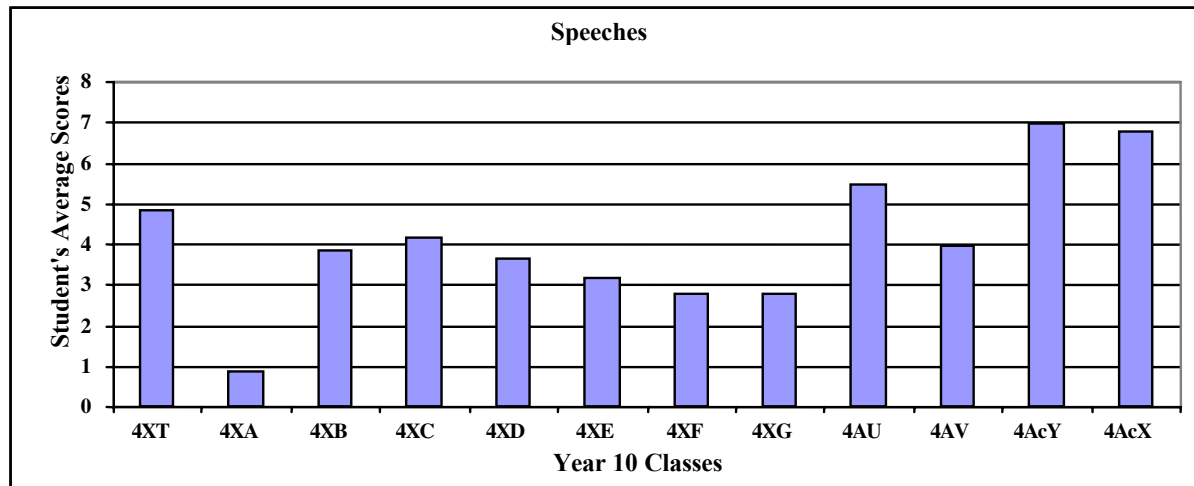
The listening skills tested in this assessment produced results that were mostly consistent for all classes. Interestingly many of 4XT had scored very low on PAT (Progress Achievement Testing) listening comprehension scores on entry into Year 9. This assessment was worth 15 marks.

Figure 6.24: Cross-level Figure 6.24: Cross Level Assessment



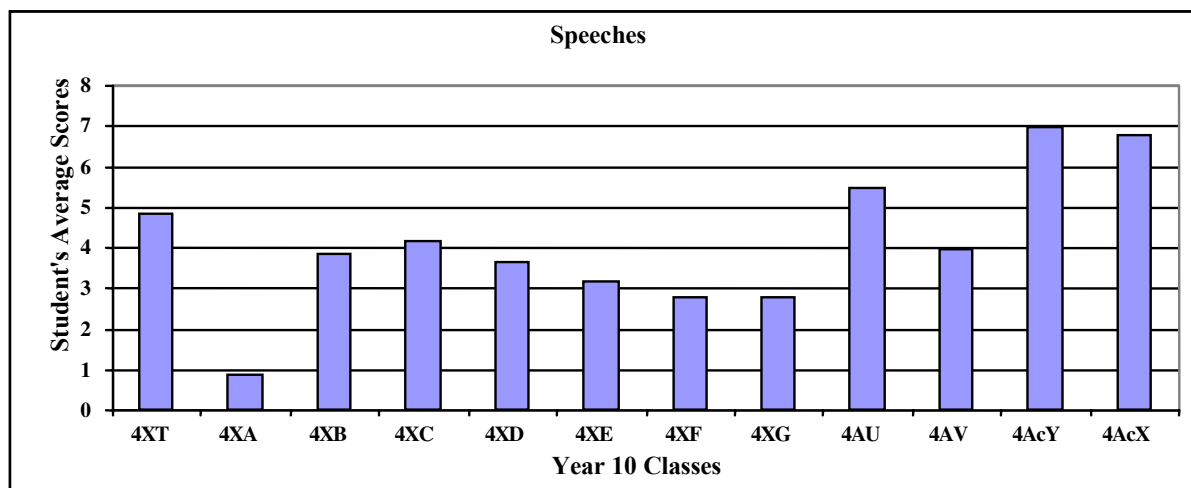
Writing under in-class conditions to complete this assessment (10 marks available) proved quite difficult for 4XT because of their negative experiences in examinations in 2001. However, their result is better than one of the A-stream classes and one of the academic classes. 4XT's results were also better than all of the "mixed ability" classes.

Figure 6.25: Comparison of the results of Māori students in the Year 10 Writing assessment.



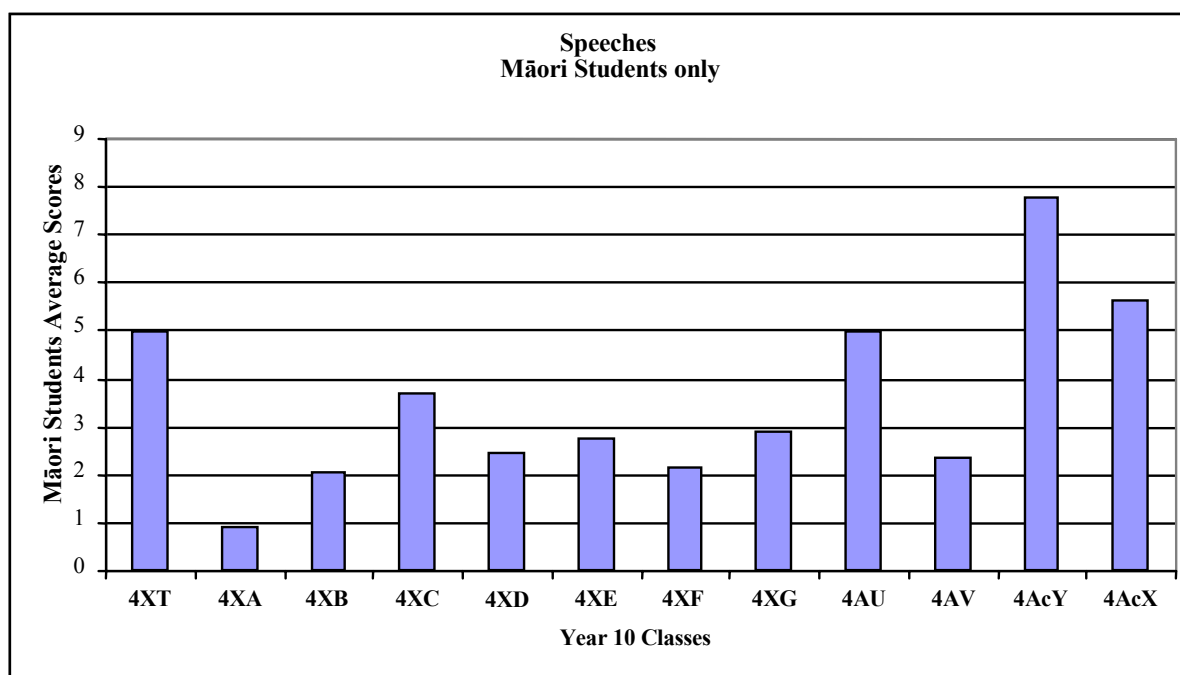
When only the Māori students' results are reported, the Māori students from the target class achieved a higher average score than all classes except 4AcX and 4AV. This assessment was worth 10 marks (Figure 6.25).

Figure 6.26: Cross-level Assessment – Speeches.



Although the achieved mark standard in Speeches does not compare favourably with the target classes other results, the teacher considered that having everyone give a speech was an achievement in itself. In spite of this, the target class had better results than all the other 'mixed' ability classes. This assessment was worth 10 marks.

Figure 6.27: Comparison of the results of Māori students in the Year 10 Speeches assessment.



When only the Māori students' results are compared, the target classes' results were better than all of the "mixed" ability classes. This is due in part to the fact that every Māori student in the class participated and completed the assessment. This is not the case in other classes as is shown below in Table 6.15. This assessment was worth 10 marks.

Table 6.15: Participation by Māori Students in Speeches Assessment

Class	Percentage of Māori students participating.
4XT (Target class)	100%
4XA ("Mixed" ability)	21.7%
4XB ("Mixed" ability)	17.2%
4XC ("Mixed" ability)	83.3%
4XD ("Mixed" ability)	78.6%
4XE ("Mixed" ability)	29.4%
4XF ("Mixed" ability)	62.5%
4XG ("Mixed" ability whānau class)	30%
4AU (A-Stream)	100%
4AV (A- Stream)	44.4%
4AcY (Academic Stream)	100%
4AcX (Academic Stream)	100%

Teacher 5 (School 2)

Table 6.16: Comparison of student results Year 10 Social Studies School 2 Teacher 5

	4XT*	4XA	4XB	4XC	4XD	4XE	4XF	4XG	4AU	4AV
Excellence	1	1	1	1	6	0	5	0	6	0
Merit	8	3	9	5	6	3	6	4	10	14
Achieved	11	11	7	11	5	2	13	9	10	11
Not achieved	2	7	1	7	2	11	0	6	0	4
Absent	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0
Total	22	22	18	24	24	16	24	19	26	29

* Target class

4XF Ex-Homeroom class

4XG Te Reo class

4AU A stream class

4AV A stream class

Note. Grades for 4Ac3 and Ac4 are not included as these classes sat Level 1 NCEA Geography

The school set a medium of 45% for stream B in Social Studies. Overall, the target class achieved at around 48%-49%. They performed above what was expected for a group in stream B in Social Studies. Their overall performance was just outside that expected for a stream A class in Social Studies.

Teacher 6 (School 2)

No appropriate student achievement data was available for this class.

SCHOOL THREE (TEACHER 7)

School Three Profile

School Three is a Decile 6, urban, single-sex (female) secondary school. Three female non-Māori teachers from this school attended the marae training week, however only one of these teachers remained in the project. Of the two teachers who withdrew from programme, one teacher was forced to withdraw because the classes allocated to her did not include the target students (Year 9 or 10 Māori students). The other teacher chose to withdraw because of personal reasons. This resulted in only one teacher, in a staff of over 100, remaining in the project. The school roll in August of 2002 was as follows:

- **School Roll**

Table 6.17: School Roll Numbers 2002

Year	Female
09	419
10	382
11	351
12	290
13	177
14	1
Total	1620

- **Ethnicity**

Table 6.18: 2002 Percentage of Students within Ethnic Groups

	Year 09	Year 10	Year 11	Year 12	Year 13
European NZ	63.3	74.37	74.59	83.02	76.00
Māori	21.9	20.35	17.21	11.07	11.43
Other European	3.09	1.75	2.73	2.21	2.85
Pacific Island	0.88	0.5	0.81	1.10	0.57
Asian	3.76	1.5	2.18	1.84	2.28

Data from the percentage of students within ethnic groups in 2002 by class year show that the percentage of European New Zealand students increased from Year 9 to Year 12 (63.3% to 83.02% respectively) then decreased slightly at Year 13 (76%). The opposite trend is shown for Māori students, with a steady decline from Year 9 to Year 12 (21.9% to 11.07% respectively). The percentage of Māori students was maintained at Year 13 (11.43%).

- **Class Organisation**

Table 6.19: Class Types 2002

	Year 09	Year 10	Year 11	Year 12	Year 13	Totals
Accelerate	2	2	0	0	0	4
Mixed ability	11	12	14	13	8	58
NCES	2	2	0	1	0	5
Bilingual	0	0	0	0	0	0

This school offered three different class types at Year 9 and Year 10. Two accelerate classes and two NCES (National Certificate of Employment Skills) classes, for students requiring academic support, were selected while the majority of students remained in mixed ability classes. At Year 11, 12 and 13 all students were in mixed ability classes with the exception being one NCES class at Year 12. The numbers of classes in the range of class types offered fluctuates from year to year. Bilingual classes are not offered as a class-type option however Māori language is offered as an optional but not core subject. English, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies and Physical Education are taught in core classes.

At Year 10, students take the five core subjects then choose three options. One option must be from Arts and one from Technology, the third option is from one of the following three groups.

- The Arts group includes art, music, drama, ngā toi Māori and musicianship;
- The Technology group includes food technology, computing, enterprise studies, fabric technology and materials technology; and
- The Languages group includes, French, German, graphics, Japanese, te reo whakato, maths enrichment and language support.

The remaining participating teacher was a mature and very experienced teacher who taught Social Studies. Through marriage she also held a close affinity to the local and wider Māori community. In Term I teachers identified for researchers a Year 9 class that included almost one third of Māori students. Lower numbers of Māori students were normally found in other classes at this school. This class became the target class.

- **Target Class**

The target class was observed over Terms I, II and III of 2002 at three different times. Each time, observations in this school involved the researchers observing students' participation with the target teacher in the targeted Year 9 Social Studies class. Students from the target class normally attended these classes for up to three periods per week. As well as in-class observations, researchers gathered data that would provide an indicator of student achievement (attendance, reading and writing) and achievement in the targeted class curriculum area (Social Studies).

Results

STUDENT ATTENDANCE

Teacher 7 (School 3)

The research team monitored students' Social Studies class attendance over three terms. The total number of possible classes attended was calculated as a mean percentage for Māori students and again separately for non-Māori students.

Table 6.20: Mean Percentage of Days Attended in Target Class

Cohort	Term I	Term II	Term III
Māori Students	94	84	93
Non-Māori Students	93	87	92

Both Māori and non-Māori students showed similar decreases in class attendance in Term II. This increased again in Term III. Unfortunately because this was a Year 9 class there was no opportunity to compare these data with the previous year's attendance figures.

STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT DATA

Teacher 7 (School 3)

A cloze exercise, where 20 words were deleted from a piece of written text (approximately 240 words), was designed by the research team. The short text, which was based on continental drift theory and migration of Māori to New Zealand, was selected from a current Year 9 Science book, on the basis of potential relevance to the wide range of target students in each of the schools. Researchers considered that students might already have been, or currently were being exposed to these topics from within different curriculum options. Cultural relevance to the students themselves was another important consideration.

The cloze exercise identified changes in students' ability to utilise semantic and syntactic reading cues. Students were asked to read the text then process and suggest meaningful words for each of the deleted words. The same cloze exercise was presented to students at the beginning of the year and then again at the end of Term II. Each time students were given ten minutes to complete the exercise. All students in the target classes were asked to participate. This allowed researchers to identify any resulting differences between Māori and non-Māori students. Accordingly, the percentage of items correct was calculated for Māori and non-Māori student groups separately.

Table 6.21: Target Māori and Non-Māori students from School 3: Percentage of Cloze Items Correct

Mean Percentage Of Cloze Items Correct			
N	Cohort	Time 1	Time 2
10	Māori Girls	50%	70%
17	Non-Māori Girls	55%	65%
Difference between Māori and Non-Māori Mean		-5%	+5%

Note: Time 1 baseline

Time 2 post intervention

Table 6.21 shows that in their cloze exercise at Time 1 (baseline), the Māori students achieved slightly below the non-Māori student mean (50% to 55% respectively). The Māori students mean for cloze accuracy was 5% lower than for non-Māori students.

At Time 2 (post intervention), the Māori students showed a 20% improvement (from 50% to 70%), achieving higher than non-Māori (65%). This shows that, at Time 2, Māori students had improved over non-Māori students by 5%.

- **Writing Assessment**

Students in the target class were also asked to complete a 10 minute writing sample at the beginning of Term I and then again at the end of Term II. Writing samples were then used to identify how

accurately students were writing, and also how well their messages were being conveyed and what impact these messages might have on the reader. An independent person analysed and assessed all writing samples. This assessor was trained for the task, but had no previous involvement in the study. Quantitative measures (correct and incorrect writing rates) were calculated by counting the number of words written correctly and the number of words written incorrectly per minute, across a 10 minute session. The types of error tallied were: punctuation, spelling/unrecognisable words, incorrect tenses/structures and unclear messages. Qualitative measures of “audience impact” and English language competency were also obtained from two seven-point holistic rating scales. Writing samples were scored first in terms of each of the quantitative and then qualitative measures described above. Writing assessments compared Māori and non-Māori group mean performance.

Table 6.22: Target Māori and Non-Māori students from School Three: Writing Rate, Accuracy and Quality

School 3				
Writing	Māori Students (N=10)		Non-Māori Students (N=17)	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
Words Per Minute Attempted	15	20	18	19
Correct	14	19	17	18
Writing Accuracy	93%	95%	94%	95%
Audience Impact 1-7 Rating	4	4	4	5
Language Quality 1-7 Rating	4	4	4	4

Note: Time 1 baseline

Time 2 post intervention

Table 6.22 shows that in their 10 minute writing sample at Time 1 (baseline), the Māori students attempted slightly fewer words per minute than did non-Māori students, but wrote a similarly high number of these words correctly – 15 and 18 words were attempted, and 14 and 17 words were correct, respectively. Students in both groups displayed similar levels of writing accuracy (93% and 94% respectively) as well as the same rankings for audience impact and language quality (in all cases 4).

At Time 2 (post-intervention), Māori students displayed greater increases on measures of words per minute and words correct than did non-Māori students. Māori students attempted 20 words per minute of which 19 were written correctly. Non-Māori students attempted 19 words of which 18 were written correctly. Both groups displayed the same high level of accuracy (95%) and similar rankings for audience impact (4 and 5 respectively) and language quality (4 in both cases).

- **Social Studies Assessment Data**

Social Studies scores over Year 9 classes for two units were also gathered and analysed. These percentage scores show the mean outcome data for four different classes (the target class, two non-target but similar band classes and one accelerate class). Each class undertook the same test conditions

on four assessments that were taken at the completion of units of work. Scores were first compared between Māori and non-Māori students within the target class itself. Scores were then compared with non-Māori students from two separate but similarly banded mixed ability classes. Finally scores were compared to scores from one accelerate class of non-Māori students.

Table 6.23: Sample of Year 9 Social Studies Scores across the School

Target Class				
	Module 1		Module 2	
	Class Work	Test	Class Work	Test
Māori Students	63	60	58	54
Non-Māori Students	68	61	66	50

Two Non Target, Similar Band Classes				
Class 1				
Non-Māori Students	61	56	60	46
Class 2				
Non-Māori Students	62	34	61	46

One Accelerate Class				
Non-Māori Students	80	62	79	70

Data for students from the target class show that Māori students scored slightly lower than non-Māori students in the class work set for the two modules with a difference ranging from 5% to 8%. However, the Māori students scored higher than the non-Māori students in the target class in the test completed for module 2.

The comparison data provided by non-Māori students from two similar band classes on the same modules shows an even smaller margin of difference between non-Māori students and target class Māori students. In these two cases target Māori students scored slightly higher on class work in module 1, but slightly less on class work in module 2. However, the Māori students from the target class scored higher than the non-Māori students from the two similarly banded classes in the tests for both modules.

Data from students in the accelerate class show all scores ahead of target Māori students and ahead of all non-Māori students in the three other classrooms. However, of these classes (target plus two non-target classes), the margin of difference is least between the target and accelerate class. Further, the lowest score for accelerate students (62 for the test in module 1) shows little difference between the scores of the accelerate class and target students (62 and 60) yet a marked difference between the target and accelerate class scores and non-target students (56 and 34).

Taken together these data suggest that the target teacher was using some very successful learning strategies in her facilitation of learning with students in the target class. In this instance where the teacher was adhering to the Effective Teaching Profile and being monitored with in-class support, the

academic achievement of Māori students in the target class came close to the achievement levels of non-Māori students in the same class. Further, in six out of the eight assessment scores, Māori students from the target class surpassed non-Māori students in two similarly banded classes. Scores from Māori students in the three non-targeted classrooms have not been included in these mean scores because Māori student numbers in these classrooms were so few as to make comparisons meaningless.

SCHOOL FOUR (TEACHERS 8, 9, 10 AND 11)

School Four Profile

School Four is a Decile 1, rural, co-educational secondary school. At this school there were four participating teachers. The target classes were two Year 10 classes and two Year 9 classes. Target teachers taught English (2), Maths and Social Studies. The school roll in July 2002 was 403.

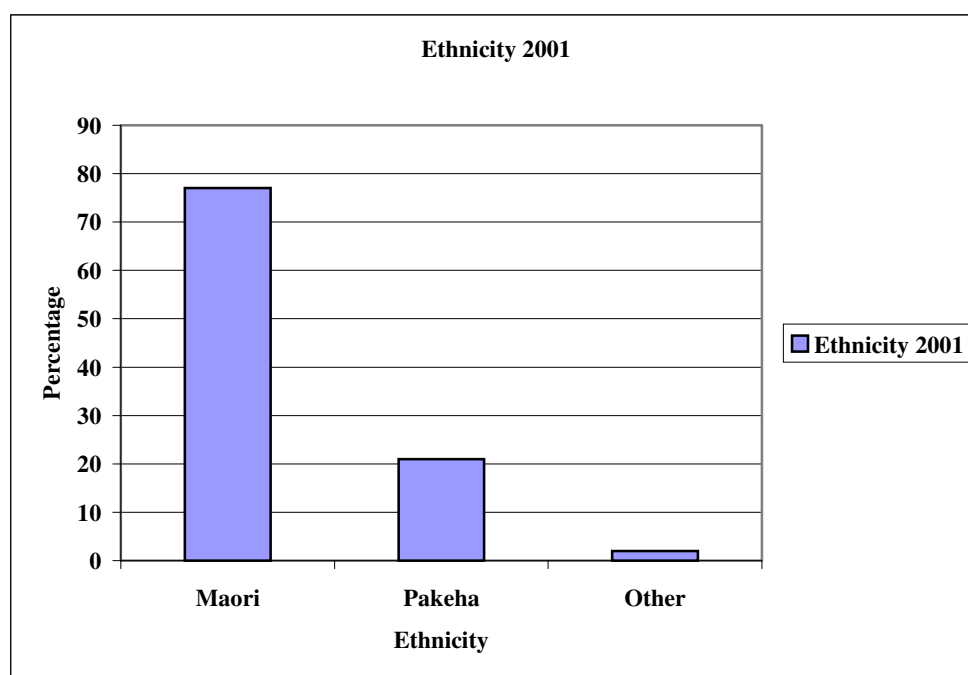
- **School Roll Numbers**

Table 6.24: School Four Numbers

Year	Boys	Girls	Total
09	54	49	103
10	59	55	114
11	47	47	94
12	31	25	56
13	15	21	36
			403

- **Ethnicity**

Figure 6.28: Ethnicity of Students in School Four



- **Class Organisation**

Nearly 80% of the students at this school are Māori. The school's retention of Māori students is twice the national average for schools of similar decile. The number of students leaving with Form 7 qualifications exceed those of other schools of the same decile nationally.

The Year 9 and 10 classes are streamed by ability. There are five classes at each level; one A-stream, three B-streams, and one C-stream. At the end of Term I, or the beginning of Term II students can be moved between classes based on the previous term's work.

Results

STUDENT ATTENDANCE

Absenteeism was a major problem at this school. In the target classes, it was not uncommon to find as many as a quarter of the class absent at any one time and on any day and as a result it was difficult to follow students consistently from one observation time to the next. While some of these absences were approved, many were not. This level of absenteeism had serious implications for the class programme.

STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT DATA

- **Cloze and Writing Sample**

The following are the results for the cloze exercise and timed writing samples from School Four (which were implemented in the same way as for School Three). Only students who had completed items at both pre- and post-intervention data points were included in the sample. Many students did not complete both samples.

Table 6.25: Target Māori and Non Māori students from School Four
Percentage of Cloze Items Correct

Mean Percentage of Cloze Items Correct			
N	Cohort	Time 1	Time 2
15	Māori Girls	25%	30%
6	Māori Boys	20%	35%
21	Combined Māori Girls and Boys	25%	30%
6	Combined Non-Māori Girls and Boys	40%	35%
Difference between Māori and Non-Māori Mean		-15%	-5%

Note: Time 1 Term I

Time 2 Term II

Table 6.25 shows that in their cloze exercise at Time 1 (Term I, 2002), Māori girls achieved slightly higher than Māori boys (25% and 20% respectively), and that the combined Māori student mean was

well below the combined non-Māori student mean, (25% to 40% respectively). The Māori student mean for cloze accuracy was 15% lower than for non-Māori students.

At Time 2 (Term II), Māori boys showed an impressive improvement (from 20% to 35%) to achieve slightly ahead of Māori girls (30%). Although the combined Māori student mean for cloze accuracy had improved, it was still 5% below the combined non-Māori student mean (30% to 35% respectively). This shows however that those Māori students who attended regularly enough to complete items at both points had closed the discrepancy between them and non-Māori students by 10%.

Table 6.26: Target Māori and Non Māori students from School Four
Writing Rate, Accuracy and Quality

School Four				
Writing	Māori Students (n=20)		Non-Māori Students (n=3)	
	Time 1	Time 2	Time 1	Time 2
Words Attempted per minute	13	14	11.5	17
Correct	12	13	11	16
Writing Accuracy	92%	93%	96%	94%
Audience Impact 1-7 Rating	4	4	4	5
Language Quality 1-7 Rating	4	4	4	5

Note: Time 1 Term I

Time 2 Term II

Table 6.26 shows that in their 10 minute writing sample at Time 1, Māori students attempted more words per minute than did non-Māori students, but wrote slightly less of these words correctly – 13 and 11.5 words were attempted, and 12 and 11 words were correct respectively. This resulted in Māori students having a lower level of writing accuracy (92 and 96 respectively). Interestingly both groups of students had the same mean holistic rankings for audience impact and language quality (in all cases 4).

At Time 2, (Term II) both Māori and non-Māori students displayed increases on measures of words per minute and words correct. Although Māori students now attempted fewer words per minute than did non-Māori students, they made similar numbers of errors. Māori students attempted 14 words per minute of which 13 were written correctly. Non-Māori students had improved to 17 words per minute of which 16 were written correctly. Both groups displayed similar levels of accuracy (93% and 94% respectively). Rankings for audience impact and language quality had been maintained for Māori students (4 for each) and improved for non-Māori students (5 for each).

The following are school-generated assessments.

Teacher 8 (School 4)

In the Year 10 Social Studies class there were common tests for common topics that were generated by the Head of Department but the other teachers were able to choose items from these tests (or could add to them) so as to best suit their students' learning. Therefore, comparisons between classes were not possible from assessments undertaken during the year. However, all of the classes did sit the end of year exam and their results are presented here so as to identify any gains in achievement by students in the target class 10D which was taught by Teacher 8.

Table 6.27: Comparison of the results of students in Year 10 Social Studies (Actual Totals) Teacher 8 (School 4)

	10 A	10 B	10 C	10 D	10 E
	n= 22	n= 24	n= 21	n= 20	n= 11
Excellent	11	14	7	2	0
Merit	51	38	29	9	0
Achieved	22	32	24	39	0
Not attained	4	13	8	18	17
Absent	0	0	15	12	0
Total²⁵	88	97	83	80	22

Table 6.28: Comparison of the results of students in Year 10 Social Studies (percentage figures) Teacher 8 (School 4)

	10 A	10 B	10 C	10 D*	10 E
	n= 22	n= 24	n= 21	n= 20	n= 11
Excellent	12.5	14.4	8.4	2.5	0
Merit	58.0	39.0	35.0	11.3	9.0
Achieved	25.0	33.0	29.0	49.0	13.6
Not attained	4.5	13.4	9.6	22.5	77.0
Absent	0	0	18.0	15.0	0

* Target Class

It is clear from these data that the achievements of students in 10D were no greater than that which could be expected given their placement in the streamed hierarchy.

²⁵ These figures are an aggregation of the four grades given to the four part of the exam.

Teacher 9 (School 4)

The target class was 10C.

Table 6.29: Comparison of the Results of Students in Year 10 English (Actual Totals)

	10 A	10 B	10 C*	10 D	10 E
Excellent					
Merit		4	6	1	
Achieved	21	12	4	6	
Not attained	2	7	6	14	
Absent			4	0	
Total	23	23	20	21	

Note: * Target Class

10 E did not sit the common examination

Table 6.30: Comparison of the results of students in Year 10 English (percentage figures)

	10 A	10 B	10 C*	10 D	10 E
Excellent					
Merit		17.4	30.0	4.8	
Achieved	91.3	52.2	20.0	28.5	
Not attained	8.7	30.4	30.0	66.7	
Absent			20.0		

Note: * Target Class

10 E did not sit the common examination

These figures demonstrate that there was a greater spread of grades in the target class which we would attribute to the improved attendance by some students and a fall off by others. In other words, it is suggested that for some students in the target class, an increase in attendance had an effect upon their achievement, in that in this class (10C), more students achieved the Merit level than did the more highly ranked 10A and 10B. We would suggest that this increase in attendance was because of improved relationships and interactions between the teacher and students (see Table 7.1).

Teacher 10 (School 4)

Table 6.31: Comparison of the results of students in Year 9 English (Total Scores)

	9 A	9 B	9 C	9 D*	9 E
Excellent	1	0	0	0	0
Merit	11	1	0	0	0
Achieved	10	11	12	11	3
Not attained	0	4	8	7	4
Absent	0	4	4	1	4
Total	22	19	24	19	11

Note: * Target Class

Table 6.32: Comparison of the results of students in Year 9 English (percentage figures)

	9 A	9 B	9 C	9 D*	9 E
Excellent	4.5	0	0	0	0
Merit	50.0	5.0	0	0	0
Achieved	45.0	55.0	50.0	57.9	27.2
Not attained	0	20.0	34.0	36.8	36.4
Absent	0	20.0	16.7	5.3	36.4

Note: * Target Class

It is clear from these data that the achievements of students in 9D were no greater than that which could be expected given their placement in the streamed hierarchy.

Teacher 11 (School 4)

Table 6.33: Comparison of the results of students in Year 9 Maths (Actual Totals)

	9A			9B*			9C			9D		
	Number	Probability	Total	Number	Probability	Total	Number	Probability	Total	Number	Probability	Total
Excellent	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Merit	0	9	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Achieved	15	1	16	0	10	10	2	4	6	6	5	11
Not Achieved	7	11	18	20	10	30	20	18	38	12	13	25
Absent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	22	22	44	20	20	40	22	22	44	18	18	36

Note: * Target Class

Table 6.34: Comparison of the results of students in Year 9 Maths (number and probability totals combined)

	9A		9B*		9C		9D	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Excellent	1	2.2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Merit	9	20.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Achieved	16	36.3	10	25	6	13.6	11	30.5
Not achieved	18	41.0	30	75	38	86.4	25	69.5
Absent	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Notes: * Target class

9E sat a separate examination

Number and probability were the only 2 topics of 4 that all students sat in common. Number is a basic pre-requisite for further study.

These data indicate that the students in the target class did not improve their achievement level beyond that which the school had predicted when streaming the students.

SUMMARY OF PART B

This rather large and variously sourced set of attendance and student achievement results from the four schools demonstrates a number of outcomes:

- **Attendance**
 - Students in the target classes taught by Teachers 1 and 2 did not exhibit attendance problems because of the effectiveness of the school's attendance system.
 - Students in the target classes taught by Teachers 3, 4, and 5 improved their attendance at school.
 - The students in the class taught by Teacher 7 dropped off in attendance during Term II but returned to their Term I high levels of attendance in Term III.
 - Attendance continued to be a problem for teachers 8, 9, 10 and 11.

Table 6.35: Overall Attendance Shift

School	Teacher	Shift in or Maintenance of Attendance
1	1	✓
	2	✓
2	3	✓
	4	✓
	5	✓
	6	No data
3	7	✓
4	8	×
	9	×
	10	×
	11	×

- **Achievement**
 - Students in targets classes taught by Teachers 1 and 2 from School 1 improved their achievement levels in these classes. The data from this school also showed that when these same Māori students were in their other classes, taught by teachers who had not participated in the professional development provided by researchers in this study, these Māori students did not make comparable academic improvements. In other words, when everything else was kept constant (eg, class size, the structure of the school, randomness of class timetabling, the students themselves and their homes) and the only factor that changed was the teacher (and the subject they taught), Māori students in the targeted teachers' classes achieved at higher levels than when they were in the classrooms of non-targeted teachers.

- Students who were in the target class taught by Teachers 3, 4 and 5 from School 2 made significant gains in achievement in these three subjects. Anecdotal evidence from this school suggested that these gains were not to be found in the subjects taught by non-intervention teachers. Again, this suggests that it is teachers who need to be the target of supported change in classroom relationships and interactions.
- Students in the target class taught by Teacher 7 in School 3 made gains in their achievement levels in both research team and school-generated assessment measures.
- Students in the target classes taught by Teachers 8, 9, 10 and 11 in School 4 did not make gains in achievement beyond those expected by their placement in the streamed classes in this school.

Table 6.36: Overall Achievement Gains

School	Teacher	Overall Achievement
1	1	✓
	2	✓
2	3	✓
	4	✓
	5	✓
	6	No data
3	7	✓
4	8	×
	9	×
	10	×
	11	×

This part of chapter 6 has drawn together data on student attendance and achievement from school records and school-generated summative assessment activities and in two cases, presents data from research team-generated activities. This data has shown that attendance and achievement of the students in the four schools varied in that in some cases student achievement improved and in others there was no significant increase in student achievement. Chapter 7, in weaving together data from chapters 4, 5 and 6, offers an explanation for this phenomenon.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and Implications

Introduction: The Problem

The general aim of the project reported here was to address the need to improve the educational achievement of Māori students in mainstream schools. Māori students' educational achievement and formal qualification levels are lower than those of most others in the population, they are suspended from school at three times the rate of non-Māori and they leave school earlier than other students. In turn, these factors contribute to high unemployment or employment in low paid work and an over-representation in the negative indices of the wider community beyond school.

Research Questions

The research asked questions about how a better understanding of Māori students' experiences in the classroom and analyses of these experiences might lead to improved policy and teaching and learning that will ultimately result in greater Māori student achievement. It also sought to identify those underlying teacher and school behaviours and attitudes that make a difference to Māori achievement. Overall, the research was concerned with finding out how education in its many forms could make the greatest difference in raising the educational achievement of Māori students.

The developers of the project chose to focus on Māori students in Years 9 and 10 because this is the crisis location for students where the cumulative effect of low achievement really begin to have an impact and where retention and suspension problems are at their worst.

The Project

The project commenced with a short scoping exercise that identified the hypothesis that guided the subsequent longer term project. The longer term project commenced with the gathering of a number of narratives of students' classroom experience by the process of Collaborative Storying from a range of engaged and non-engaged Māori students in four non-structurally modified mainstream schools. It was from these amazing stories that the rest of this project developed in that the students clearly identified the main influences on their educational achievement. They also told us how Māori students' educational achievement could improve if their teachers changed how they related and interacted with Māori students in their classrooms.

On the basis of these suggestions from Year 9 and 10 Māori students, supported by those parenting the students, their principals and some of their teachers, the research team developed an Effective Teaching Profile. Together with other information from the literature, this Effective Teaching Profile formed the basis of a professional development intervention. When this intervention was implemented with a group of 11 teachers in four schools, it led to improved learning, behaviour and attendance outcomes for Māori students in the classrooms of those teachers who had been able to participate fully in the professional development intervention.

The Most Important Influences on Māori Students' Educational Achievement: Evidence from the Narratives of Experience.

The Ministry of Education (2001) in its tender for this research identified a number of influences that are reported in the literature that impact upon Māori students' achievement – these included:

- Home and school relationships
- Pedagogy
- Teachers' expectations
- Schools (climate, environment and leadership)
- Peer effects
- Classroom/group dynamics
- Transition (from intermediate or full primary to secondary)
- Mentors
- Whānau support
- Socio-economic factors

The present study identified that while all of these factors could well influence the achievement of Māori students, most of them were subsumed by the quality of the face-to-face, in-class relationships and interactions between the teachers and Māori students as major influences on Māori students' educational achievement. This reality is only partially referred to in the above list of influences identified in the current literature. In contrast to the experiences of this first group (the Māori students, those parenting these students, their principals and a minority of their teachers) the majority of teachers suggested that the major influence on Māori students' educational achievement was with the children themselves, their family/whānau circumstances, or with systemic/structural issues. Only a small percentage of teachers agreed with the students, those parenting and the principals about the importance of in-class relationships and classroom interactions.

Therefore, we suggest along with others (Nieto, 2001; Gay, 2000; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Wagstaff & Fusarelli, 1995) that it is this deficit theorising by teachers that is the major impediment to Māori students' educational achievement. Further, we suggest that all other influences play a subordinate role, being subsumed within and by the dominant discourse. The main implication of deficit theorising for the quality of teachers' relationships with Māori students and for classroom interactions, is that teachers tend to have low expectations of Māori students' ability. This in turn creates a downward spiraling self-fulfilling prophecy of Māori student achievement and failure.

The Effective Teaching Profile: Creating a Culturally Appropriate and Responsive Context for Learning

From the narratives of experience, the project team developed an Effective Teaching Profile that identifies effective teachers as those who create a culturally appropriate and responsive context for learning in their classrooms. In doing this, effective teachers demonstrate the following understandings:

- a) **they positively and vehemently reject deficit theorizing** as a means of explaining Māori students' educational achievement levels (and professional development projects need to ensure that this happens); and
- b) **they know and understand how to bring about change in Māori students' educational achievement** and are professionally committed to doing so (and professional development projects need to ensure that this happens);

in the following **observable ways**:

- 1) Manaakitanga: They care for the students as culturally-located human beings above all else.
(Mana refers to authority and aki, the task of urging some one to act. It refers to the task of building and nurturing a supportive and loving environment).
- 2) Mana motuhake: They care for the performance of their students.
(In modern times mana has taken on various meanings such as legitimation and authority and can also relate to an individual's or a group's ability to participate at the local and global level. Mana motuhake involves the development of personal or group identity and independence).
- 3) Ngā tūranga takitahi me ngā mana wharehaere: They are able to create a secure, well-managed learning environment.
(Ngā tūranga takitahi me ngā mana whakahaere: involves specific individual roles and responsibilities that are required in order to achieve individual and group outcomes).
- 4) Wānanga: They are able to engage in effective teaching interactions with Māori students as Māori.
(As well as being known as Māori centres of learning wānanga as a learning forum involves a rich and dynamic sharing of knowledge. With this exchange of views ideas are given life and spirit through dialogue, debate and careful consideration in order to reshape and accommodate new knowledge).
- 5) Ako: They can use strategies that promote effective teaching interactions and relationships with their learners.
(Ako means to learn as well as to teach. It is both the acquisition of knowledge and the processing and imparting of knowledge. More importantly ako is a teaching-learning practice that is culturally specific and appropriate to Māori pedagogy).
- 6) Te Kōtahitanga: They promote, monitor and reflect on outcomes that in turn lead to improvements in educational achievement for Māori students.
(Kotahitanga is a collaborative response towards a commonly held vision, goal or other such purpose or outcome).

The Professional Development Intervention

The professional development intervention consisted of three steps:

- Step 1: An introduction of the purpose of the project to schools and a period of “bringing staff on board”
- Step 2: An intensive five-day hui/workshop for volunteer teachers that addressed the need for improved relationships and interaction patterns between teachers and Māori students by means of reading the student narratives and familiarising teachers with the Effective Teaching Profile.
- Step 3: A series of three post-hui in-class observations (data-gathering) and interactive feedback sessions. These were also accompanied by informal contacts, feed-forward and co-construction sessions.

THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

From this study, it has become clear that exposure to new knowledge and strategies needs to be preceded by teachers being provided with a means of critically reflecting on their own theorising/modes of explorations about Māori students’ educational achievement. This needs to be done in a non-confrontational manner and in a culturally appropriate setting (in this case, a marae).²⁶ In this study, the professional development intervention commenced by providing the teachers with vicarious experiences of others involved in the education of Māori students, including the students themselves, via a series of narratives of experience, anecdotal evidence and the researchers’ own experiences. This is a very powerful and necessary way to commence such a professional development.

In addition, the professional development intervention needs to provide on-going support, feedback and opportunities for co-construction and follow-up shadow-coaching for teachers in authentic settings.

²⁶ A follow up evaluation study that is currently work-in-progress indicates that according to the teachers in this study, the setting was crucial in supporting the philosophical challenges and changes they underwent.

Table 7.1

SET 1: SCHOOL PROFILES					SET 2: TEACHERS' DETAILS						SET 3: INTERVENTION ELEMENTS										SET 4: RESULTS																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																								
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RESULTS

Table 7.1 is a collection of a number of other tables and details from within this report. It incorporates the school profiles from Chapter 6, the details of the teacher participants from Chapter 5 (Table 5.1), the intervention elements from Chapter 5 (Table 5.4), and details of the results from Chapter 6. In all, this table details the four schools, the 11 teachers, the nine intervention elements and the seven results²⁷.

This table demonstrates a number of important outcomes of this project. However, these results should be read carefully in that this study is of a very small number of teachers over a very limited period of time, and as such, these results are really more in the order of indications or hypotheses in need of further testing.

It is also important to note that this study was not of an experimental design and the data need to be read and interpreted as such. For example, there is no control for co-occurring events or features that might rule out other interpretations for observed changes, apart from the degree of participation in the professional development.

Nevertheless there are four systematic replications provided by the case studies and within schools, and the data does provide evidence of the professional development at work and the hypothesised processes taking place. In effect, we are suggesting that the repeated measures (in-class observation data) can show trends associated with the advent of the professional development. In addition where non-professional development classrooms were able to be included in some of the academic measures, there is additional support given to interpreting the time-based changes.

These outcomes include:

- The same optimal intervention (i.e. nine components implemented adequately over approximately three terms) resulted in similar outcomes for six of the teachers who were in three very different settings (single-sex/co-ed, deciles 1-7, small/large sizes, high percentage of Māori students/low percentage of Māori students) in three different locations.
- Successful outcomes in the three different sites indicate that success was independent of school type, gender, ethnicity, qualification type, location and type of pre-service education, and length of teaching experience. In other words the main influence on success that is indicated in this table is that the successful teachers all participated fully in the nine intervention elements provided by the research team.

²⁷ It is worth noting that in future projects, other variables such as suspensions and teacher undertakings might be added to the list of results.

- The successful teachers²⁸ demonstrated that they had:
 - Increased the range of teacher-student interactions in their classrooms by transforming their classrooms from the dominant traditional pattern to a more interactive discourse mode, and facilitating academic interactions between them and Māori students and between Māori students and their peers;
 - Increased the range and type of groups and/or included with where they interacted, thus allowing Māori students more possibilities to learn in ways that they found more useful;
 - Increased the zone of interaction by changing their physical positioning within their classroom so as to be much more accessible and thereby facilitating positive academic interactions with Māori students; and
 - Increased the cognitive level of the classroom from a mean of 3.4 (on a 5 point scale) in Observation 1 to 4.1 in Observation 3, thus indicating a small but positive overall growth in the expectations the teachers had of their students' abilities to handle more cognitively difficult work.

As a result the teachers had seen:

- An overall increase in Māori students' academic engagement from a mean of 72% in Observation 1 to 93% in Observation 3; engagement being a well-proven predictor of potential long-term achievement;
 - An increase in Māori students' work completion from a mean of 3.3 to 4.5 (on a 5 point scale);
 - An increase in or maintenance of high levels of Māori students' attendance;
 - An increase in Māori students' short-term achievement over a range of school- and research team-generated assessment activities.
- Those teachers who were not successful across most or all of the seven results variables did not participate fully in all of the interventions that were available, and their results in these seven areas varies from teacher to teacher. From these data it would appear that missing the follow-up episodes means that teachers are less likely to make satisfactory progress in transforming success variables. It must be stressed that these data do not indicate that these teachers were somehow inadequate. The main reason for these particular teachers not being as successful as the others was that they were not able to participate fully in the intervention through no fault of their own. The main reason was in fact a lack of proximity to the research/professional developers. This school was six hours drive distant from the research team's home site and on a number of occasions visits

²⁸ It is important to note that in conversation and also in a follow-up quantitative study that is still in progress, the teachers have also identified that they would not have changed their behaviours (which they saw as resulting in the changes in students' behaviours) without their also having undergone a philosophical change. In explaining this change in understanding they pointed to the two components earlier identified in the EFP which related to teachers moving away from deficit theorising and realising that they were themselves able to make meaningful changes in the way they related to and interacted with teachers.

were cancelled due to weather and/or factors beyond the control of the research team. These results indicate that the follow-up sessions that include co-construction meetings and on-going, in-class support and shadow-coaching are essential for successful transformation and need to be conducted by either an on-site or readily accessible professional developer.

- These experiences indicate that the professional development should consist of at least nine separate intervention elements, and should be undertaken by professional developers who are close by or in-school so as to facilitate communication and on-going support, feedback and facilitation of forward looking classroom developments.
- The professional development intervention also saw effects on Māori students' attendance in that:
 - Attendance of students was most readily maintained in the cases where the school had an excellent system for monitoring attendance. Improvements in attendance were most readily achieved where the target students (in this case some 24, year 10 Māori students), were taught by three core subject teachers who were full participants (i.e. involved in all nine intervention elements) in the project. Again, this was independent of gender, ethnicity and a number of other variables that we had no control over. This would appear to be a model worth developing further in a future study of this kind.
 - Attendance improved following a term-two drop off in a third case (albeit only one teacher), where the teacher was able to participate fully in all nine intervention elements of the project. Again, as the students' academic engagement increases so does their work completion, their achievement levels and their attendance improves. Anecdotal evidence suggested that students (especially noticeable in school two, where three of their classes were taught by participating teachers) would attend the participating teachers classes but continued to 'bunk' those classes conducted by non-participating teachers. Anecdotal evidence also indicated that as attendance increased so student stand-down and suspensions decreased and associated behaviour problems decreased. Whatever the case, this data indicates that teachers taking part as individuals in this form of professional development is not as successful as where teachers participate as a group.

These results also raise a number of questions:

- a) In this study we chose to identify only three changes in teacher relationships and interactions with students, and four student outcomes. The three teacher elements we chose were in-class interactions, proximity of teachers to students and the cognitive level of the class. We could also have (and will do so in a future study) identified other success variables. These could include: changes in teachers caring for the students as culturally located human beings; changes in teachers' expectations of students as seen in other ways than the cognitive level of the class; changes in the type of learning environment the teachers promote for the students; changes in the strategies teachers use; changes in the type of assessment teachers use in-class and their understanding of the purpose of these assessments.
- b) In addition we will need to monitor, possibly by qualitative research means, the changes in attitude and understanding by the teachers in terms of their theorizing about student achievement and their understandings of their own agency and efficacy. The dynamics of their understanding is

something that is worthy of a study in its own right for if we suggest that no real change can take place in teacher and student relationships and interactions prior to there being significant changes in teachers theorizing about their students and their own abilities, then such a variable is of initial importance to any future study. In this study we simply assumed that this change occurred (as was seen in Table 5.2) and that it remained. Constant questions about the sustainability of such changes in theorising will be an important ingredient of any future study.

- c) The Effective Teaching Profile (ETP) indicated that there are indeed six areas where teachers need to be able to demonstrate changes in relationships and interactions along with at least two major shifts in philosophy/understanding. The reasons for our not including all these elements in this study was that the ETP and the observation instrument were developed simultaneously rather than sequentially and a future study could well improve upon this situation by developing a more detailed means of measuring all elements of the ETP both by qualitative and quantitative research approaches.
- d) The problem of a large multivariate study of this sort is that it is very difficult to identify any one specific variable that is the 'Silver Bullet' for change. Indeed, we would suggest that the very multivariate approach would suggest that there is no such single solution, but rather there is a complex set of interacting variables that contributes to change in Māori students' educational achievement and it is more useful to continue to weave together this complexity rather than to tease apart the complexity looking for single or simple solutions. In other words, the answer to improving Māori students' educational achievement appears to lie in the synergistic relationships between a number of interacting variables wherein the combined results is greater than the sum of the individual components.
- e) There are a number of variables yet to be considered in this study which focused essentially on means of improving the in-class relationships and interactions between Māori students and their teachers. These include, among others, the large issues of school systems and structures. However, we do have an indication that structural and/or systematic change needs to follow in-class changes or that these types of changes fully support rather than hinder the in-class innovation.
- f) Also needing consideration is the relationship between the home and the school, although again indications are that improving in-class relationships and interactions (in this case measured by three variables), does create a climate where students do better at school and as a consequence where those parenting are more likely and willing to participate in a successful enterprise.
- g) A further area needing consideration is the role of leadership including that of the principal, the academic leadership in the school (HOD's etc), the pastoral care leadership and support systems among them. A further area of consideration would be the role of support staff such as RTLBs, guidance counsellors, special needs staff and so on.
- h) Many of the teachers report anecdotally, that despite working through nine separate interventions with the research/professional development team, they could still benefit from more information and support. This indicates the need for ongoing support from a professional development facilitator who could either provide this support themselves or identify others who could do so. This person would ideally be in-school or at least nearby. Some of the areas that continue to prove problematic for most of the teachers are the value of co-construction including the idea and means of negotiating curriculum content and learning processes.

- i) In addition, many teachers remain unclear about the centrality of culture in the classroom, despite their now being able to create contexts for learning where the culture of the child is able to be brought to the classroom interaction. The notions that culture is only something that is visible and tangible remains dominant in the minds of many teachers and they ask for help to work through the ramifications of the understanding that culture also consists of invisible elements whereby people make sense of the world.

Conclusions

The results of this study show that it is feasible, within a relatively short period of time, to improve Māori students' educational achievement. The results add to both local and international literature that shows that changing how teachers' theorise their relationships with Māori students and how they interact with them in the classroom can have a major impact upon Māori students' engagement with learning and short-term achievement.

From these results we can conclude that:

- The major influence on Māori students' educational achievement lies in the minds and actions of their teachers. The narratives clearly identified that teachers who explain Māori students' educational achievement in terms of the students' deficiencies (or deficiencies of the structure of the school) are unable to offer appropriate solutions to these problems and as a result abrogate their responsibilities for improving the achievement levels of Māori students. Such deficit theorising blames others and results in low teacher expectations of Māori students, creates self-fulfilling prophecies of failure, and leaves teachers further bewildered as to how to make a difference for Māori students. Changing this theorising is a necessary condition for improving Māori student educational engagement and achievement.
- The students provided us with a profile of effective teaching by telling us of their preferred ways of relating to and interacting with teachers. It was found that when teachers (with appropriate professional development support) implemented the Effective Teaching Profile they created a culturally appropriate and responsive context for learning in their classrooms.
- There is a strong indication that as teachers implemented this Effective Teaching Profile (which includes changes in teacher understandings as well as behaviours) in their classroom Māori students' overall performance on a range of indicators improved. These changes in teacher understandings and behaviour meant that they changed their relationships and interactions with Māori students in a number of ways; they increased caring, raised their expectations, improved the classroom management, changed the range of classroom interactions from traditional to discursive, interacted meaningfully with more students and overall focussed less on student behaviour and more on student learning and their learning how to learn. In association with these changes, Māori students became more academically engaged, completed more work in class, attended class more regularly and saw their summative assessment scores improve.
- It was demonstrated that teachers, from a range of backgrounds and with differing levels of teaching experience, both Māori and non-Māori, were able to come to terms with the new understandings about relationships and approaches to pedagogy, provided they were supported to an optimal level by appropriate professional development. These teachers were also well able to

incorporate their new learnings into their theorising/imagery about Māori students, to question and reject deficit theorising as a means of explaining disparities in educational performance, to critically reflect upon their own agency and efficacy in their classrooms, to question the principles they held about teaching and learning, to effectively refine and reform their own classroom practices and to take professional responsibility for the performance of their students.

- The intervention in the form of the optimal level of professional development model suggests effects upon Māori students' short-term achievement. Given the limited scale of the study and its lack of an experimental design it would appear that Māori students in classes taught by teachers who were fully able to participate in all components of the intervention, demonstrated higher scores in some conventional school and researcher generated measures of academic achievement than other comparable groups of Māori students. Moreover, key features remained the same; that is, the students and their families did not change (as those who promote deficit theorising would suggest was necessary) and the structure of the four schools did not change (as proponents of the structural theory would suggest). Rather, the only real change that occurred was in how the teachers related to and interacted with the Māori students in the classroom. It must be noted however, that the lack of control groups must limit the causal effects. Nevertheless, these findings offer strong support for the effectiveness of the professional development.

However, it is important to note that towards the end of the study, the interactions of the students and their families with the schools did change and there were some changes being made to in-school structures (numbers of teachers, types of classes etc) as a result of the changes that had occurred in the classrooms of the targeted teachers. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasise that these changes (while necessary) were as a result of the changes in classroom relationships and interactions between the targeted teachers and their Māori students. They did not cause the in-class changes.

- The intervention indicated that the same Māori students in their other classes, taught by different teachers (that is, non-intervention participant teachers) did not improve their academic achievement levels. In effect, when everything else was constant (e.g. the class size, the structure of the school, randomness of class timetabling, the students themselves and their homes) and the only factor changed was the teacher (and the subject they taught) Māori students in the targeted teachers' classrooms achieved at higher levels than when they were in the classroom of non-targeted teachers. When all remained the same, and only the teachers changed (their attitudes and strategies) Māori students' educational achievement improved, in the classroom of the targeted teachers, as did their in-class behaviour and attendance.
- The shift from traditional to discursive classrooms is a major change that has taken place in this project²⁹. This shift is important because traditional classroom interaction patterns do not allow teachers to create learning contexts where the culture of the child can be present. Discursive classrooms have the potential to respond to Māori students and parents desires to "be Māori", desires that were very clear in their narratives of experience. However, it must be stressed that fundamental to discursive classrooms that include Māori students is the understanding that the

²⁹ Generally, when most classroom interactions are to be found in the lower half of the graphs (see F6.1.1) this is the pattern to be found in a traditional classroom. Where most classroom interactions are to be found in the top half of the diagram, then this is the pattern to be found in discursive classrooms.

deficit theorising by teachers must be addressed. Deficit theorising will not be addressed unless there are more effective partnerships between Māori students and their teachers within the classrooms of mainstream schools. This understanding applies equally to those parenting Māori students. General characteristics of effective partnerships are:

- 1) Acknowledging the mana or expertise of each partner in the sense of the tino rangatiratanga that was guaranteed to Māori people in the Treaty of Waitangi.
- 2) Working collaboratively with their partner in culturally competent ways that allows the partners to define what culture means to them.
- 3) Learning from the partner and changing their own behaviour accordingly.

Once these aspects are addressed, the culture of the child can be brought to the learning context with all the power that has been hidden for so long.

- A traditional classroom is one where the teacher focuses on:
 - 1) instruction to transmit content knowledge;
 - 2) monitoring to check for compliance;
 - 3) behavioural feedback that is mostly negative in order to control students;
 - 4) the majority of interactions involve the teacher interacting with the whole class or to individuals; and
 - 5) knowledge that is deemed to be official and legitimate is pre-selected by the teacher as an agent of the dominant culture and this dominance remains unacknowledged.
- A discursive classroom is one where:
 - 1) Teachers demonstrate that they care for Māori students as culturally located human beings;
 - 2) Teachers care for the performance of their students;
 - 3) Teachers create secure, well-managed learning environments;
 - 4) Instruction to transmit knowledge is limited and instructions of processes of learning are more common;
 - 5) Monitoring is more often of the learning of students than monitoring of what the teachers is trying to impart;
 - 6) Behavioural feedback and feed-forward is limited in favour of academic feedback and feed-forward;
 - 7) Prior knowledges of the students are seen as a major resource for learning rather than as either non-existent, irrelevant or problematic and that students are the best people to represent this knowledge;
 - 8) The knowledge that is deemed to be official and legitimate is negotiated, co-created and represents Māori students' lived experiences;

- 9) Teachers and students might well co-construct what constitutes the content and the process of learning itself and learning interactions might take place in whole class settings, but increasingly this occurs more commonly in pairs or carefully constructed groups³⁰.
 - 10) Teachers are knowledgeable about and are able to implement a range of strategies that will enable the above features to occur; and
 - 11) Teachers promote, monitor and reflect on outcomes that in turn lead to improvements in the educational achievement of Māori students.
- Fundamental to the discursive classroom is an understanding that classroom strategies need to be used, practiced and perfected that:
 - Promote power – sharing interactions between teachers and students, students and students and teacher/students and those parenting the children, so that learners can initiate interactions beyond seeking instruction or compliance. Students and teachers can be involved in reciprocal co-learning (ako) where knowledge is co-created in such a manner that self-determination of the participants is central to the interaction.
 - Place the culture of the child at the centre of the interaction so that learners can bring who they are to the classroom in complete safety and their knowledges are acceptable and legitimate. This is in contrast to the traditional classroom where the culture of the teacher is given central focus and has the power to define what constitutes appropriate and acceptable knowledges, approaches to learning and understandings (sense-making processes). When the learners own culture is central to their learning activities, learners are able to make meaning of new information and ideas by building on their own prior cultural experiences and understandings. The visible culture of the child need not necessarily be present but may well become present as a result of a co-constructing learning experiences with their teachers, in this way addressing the potential imposition of the teacher displaying cultural iconography.
 - Teach learners how to critically reflect on their own learning, how they might learn better and more effectively and ensure greater balance in the power relationship of learning by modelling this approach in class. In other words, raise expectations of their own learning and how they might enhance and achieve these expectations.
 - Engage students actively, holistically and in an integrated fashion, in real-life (or as close to) problem-sharing and questioning and use these questions as catalysts for on-going study; this engagement can be monitored as an indicator of potential long-term achievement.
 - Other indications are that “good teaching”, i.e. a shift from traditional to discursive classrooms or even an inspirational, caring, traditional teacher, might well improve the achievement levels of non-Māori students but will not necessarily improve that of the Māori students in their classes because they miss the essential ingredient of the intervention classroom; that is anti-deficit

³⁰ Taking care when constructing groups was a major part of the intervention project with the teachers.

theorising by the teachers and their subsequent raising of their voiced expectations of their Māori students in conjunction with changes in classroom interactions.

- The project also questioned the current literature and research into the major influences on Māori students' educational achievement. Currently much research literature focuses on Māori peoples' cultural deficiencies identifying that Māori people and students are responsible for their own failures. This approach was rejected by the research team because such theories offer few, if any solutions, and when subscribed to by teachers, can generate feeling of hopelessness and loss of agency resulting in teachers having low expectations of their students' abilities, which in turn creates a self-fulfilling prophecy of failure.
- There is a growing body of research that indicates it is teacher performance in the classroom that has the most effect upon students' classroom learning. While this approach has much to recommend it, there are still limitations here for creating effective interventions because it ignores the lived reality of Māori people. The value of basing the intervention on Māori students' lived experiences was that it is clear that other people do not experience the world in the same way as do Māori. Most non-Māori teachers do not experience the impact of mono-cultural dominance on their lives; and until they can (albeit vicariously) experience how such factors manifest themselves in classroom relationships and interactions in the form of cultural deficit theorising and the cultural processes within traditional classrooms, they will not understand the need to challenge how they themselves may perpetuate, albeit unwittingly, these patterns and their consequences within their own classroom. From the classroom experiences of the students themselves it was clear that teachers firstly needed a means of addressing their own deficit theorising about Māori students and their families and that this needed to precede all other change elements. From the researchers experience these teachers are just as likely to be Māori as non-Māori.

Implications of This Study

Although positive gains were made through the professional development, there are a number of further developments that need to be made:

- 1) There needs to be further refinement in the use and format of the observation instrument as follows below. In this way observers/researchers could improve the data collected for the research and improve the quality and quantity of feedback to teachers.
 - Some overall observations need to be made at the end of the lesson to provide evidence of the teacher's caring for the students as culturally-located individuals, the teacher's demonstration of their having high expectations for the learning and behavioural performance of the students and the teacher's providing a well-managed learning environment. Such evidence could well be indicated on a 1–5 scale along with comments.
 - Feedback provided to teachers needs to be noted on the form for later collation and reference.
 - The teachers' own reflections on the lesson and on the feedback provided by the observer should be added so as to increase the inter-connectedness of the participants.
 - Ideas for future lessons developed at group co-construction meetings need to be noted.

- There is a need to develop more specific observation tools for areas such as teacher expectations, class management, use of prior knowledge etc that could be used as follow-up extension observations/feedback instruments.
- 2) The teachers currently in the professional development intervention need opportunities for maintenance and extension of the new learning. As was found in *Picking up the Pace* (Phillips, McNaughton and McDonald, 2001), there was differentiated learning across the schools and new learning is fragile. In particular, some anecdotal evidence suggests that teachers need opportunities to continue to interact with the theoretical base of the project and also to refine and develop their understanding of what constitutes appropriate relationships, how to voice expectations in a meaningful way, how to use the new language of discursive pedagogic interactions and also how to increase their range and scope of discursive pedagogic interactions.
 - 3) Because this study only involved a small number of teachers in four schools, they tended to become rather isolated enclaves within their schools and this raises a number of issues. (A number of these very issues are currently being investigated in the Te Kauhua Professional Development Sub-Contract which is running in three more schools, one of which has 50% of its staff participating in the project). These issues include:
 - how to extend the underlying understandings and practices to other teachers of the Māori students in the targeted classes;
 - how to develop leadership at a local in-school level to provide for sustainability within the school, extension of the new learning to new staff and to ensure continued refinement of practice in the classroom;
 - how and when does the school bring parents, whānau and community members into the classroom/school;
 - how to make structural changes that are necessary to support changes in classroom relationships and interactions;
 - how to develop more effective means of monitoring changes in students' achievement;
 - how to effectively bring most staff 'on-board' the project;
 - how to maintain the integrity of the project in order to avoid obfuscation with other initiatives.
 - 4) The study shows that the shift to discursive classrooms featured high levels of feedback and feed-forward and limited use of prior knowledge and co-construction. Some of the literature (e.g. Hattie, 1999) suggests that increased feedback is sufficient to raise students achievement and this is clearly the case in this study. Others (e.g. Beane, 1997) suggest that recognition of and use of students' prior knowledge and learning and power-sharing strategies of co-construction are essential. The exact relationship between these two arguments could well be addressed in future studies.

Summary

What is clearly of major importance to Māori students' educational achievement is the quality of the in-class face-to-face relationships and interactions between themselves as Māori people and their teachers. In contrast, the majority of teachers suggested that the major influence on Māori students' educational achievement was the children themselves and/or their family/whānau circumstances, or to a lesser extent, systemic/structural issues. These influences were mostly identified in negative terms.

This deficit theorising by teachers is the major impediment to Māori students' educational achievement for it results in teachers having low expectations of Māori students and reduced feelings of agency which in turn creates a downward spiralling, self-fulfilling prophecy of Māori student achievement and failure.

This study has shown that the key to improving Māori students' achievement is professional development that places teachers in non-confrontational situations where, by means of authentic yet vicarious experiences, they can critically reflect upon their own theorising and the impact such theorising has upon Māori students' educational achievement. In addition, the professional development must provide situations where teachers are shown and are able to practice in an on-going supportive manner, strategies that will change classroom interactions.

When teacher-student relationship and interaction patterns have changed as a result of a process of fully supported professional development (initiation, marae training and in-class observation and support) as interventions, a number of changes occur in Māori students' behaviour in association with the professional development. These changes include: Māori students' on-task engagement increases, their absenteeism reduces, their work completion increases, the cognitive levels of the classroom lessons are able to increase, and their short-term achievements increase; in many cases, dramatically so.

This study has also shown (albeit on a limited scale) that low achievement levels by Māori students are not immutable nor are they the result of their families' circumstances, students' indifference to education or the structure of the school, although these factors may well change as a result of successful in-class interventions.

The research also indicates that when classroom relationships and interactions are attended to, and Māori students are achieving at an appropriate level along with their non-Māori peers, structural issues that support these interventions can be implemented. In addition parents, whānau and community can then be brought into supporting a successful enterprise. Currently relationships between mainstream secondary schools and those parenting Māori students are at a standoff, exacerbated by discourses of blame and guilt. Changing failure to success in the classroom is the key to addressing structural issues as well as home and school relations.

The outcomes of this study adds to other research, national and international, on what constitutes essential approaches to effectively teaching students from indigenous communities. These include the need for teachers to challenge their own deficit theorising, and its impact on Māori students' educational achievement as well as changing their performance in their classrooms.

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Appendix A

Detailed explanation of the development of interviewing approach/ Narratives as experience.³¹

TRADITIONAL PATTERNS OF RESEARCH IN AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND

The general trend of research into indigenous people's lives in Aotearoa/New Zealand has been for the 'research story' teller to be an outsider who gathered the stories of 'others', and made sense of them in terms of perceived patterns and commonalities. As a result 'individuals' stories were subsumed within those of the researcher as storyteller. The researcher has been the story teller, the narrator, and the person who decides what constitutes the narrative. Researchers in the past have taken the stories of research participants and have submerged them within their own stories, and re-told these reconstituted stories in a language and culture determined by the researcher. As a result, power and control over research issues such as initiation, benefits, representation, legitimization, and accountability have been traditionally decided by the imposition of the researcher's agenda, interests and concerns on the research process.

Such imposition is no longer acceptable to indigenous people, such as the Māori people of Aotearoa/New Zealand, who have been the focus of much research into their lives. Māori people strongly reject the continuance of researcher hegemony over Māori people's lives through control over the methods, methodologies and the very projects being in the hands of the researcher.

This rejection of hegemony has major implications for researchers and the methods they employ. For example, when researching in Māori contexts, simply listening and recording stories of other people's experience is not acceptable. As Connelly and Clandinin (1990) point out, that it is impossible for us as researchers to still our 'theorising voices'. We, as researchers are constantly reflecting and seeking explanations for our experiences and the experiences of others, and to suppress this facility would distort the outcomes. Simply telling our own stories as subjective voices is not adequate either. This ignores the impact that the stories of the other research participants have had on our stories or vice versa. Instead, we as researchers need to acknowledge our participatory connectedness with the other research participants. We need to promote a means of knowing that denies distance and separation and promotes commitment and engagement. In short, questions as to how we address issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimization and accountability all focus on past and current practices of imposition by the researcher over all of these areas. Our question then is how do we address concerns about researcher imposition?

THE SEARCH FOR A METHOD

Lather (1991) and others suggest that qualitative approaches lend themselves more readily to addressing researcher imposition on the research process than do quantitative. We do not necessarily agree with this. A major issue here is the need to attempt to identify the current positioning of

³¹ Note that this extract is from Bishop, R., & Glynn, T. (1999). Culture Counts. Changing power relations in education. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press. Chapter 3.

researchers in relation to those whom they are working. Qualitative researchers may be less impositional in that as Elliot Eisner (1991) argues, qualitative inquiry is concerned with sets of principles, arrays of heuristics, critical reflections and expressions that allow complexity and diversity to be acknowledged and examined. This is in contrast with the concerns of quantitative inquiry, for example about establishing a procedure, a formula or a set of rules. In qualitative inquiry, the researcher does not follow a set of 'how-to's', but rather creates opportunities for the voice of the research participant to be heard, for others to reflect on. This reflection will be complex and involve a variety of levels of abstraction, abstractions of the reader's own consciousness. A qualitative research study may engage the reader in reflections on similar experiences of their own, in critical reflections and questioning of assumptions about their own approaches to research, or in their own interpretations of the research narratives.

Qualitative research will engage the researcher in considerations of disclosure, advocacy, subjectivity, consciousness, participation, identification, positionings, and agency. This stands in contrast to research that operates within a framework of logical positivism, with its emphases on engaging researchers in pursuing objectivity, reliability, replicability, hypothesis testing, controls and statistical inference. As Lather (1991) suggests, qualitative inquiry is part of a shift in the dominant discourse where

rather than fitting into conventional notions of social science, I am part of a movement that is reinscribing science 'otherwise' reshaping it away from a 'one best way' approach to the generation and legitimisation of knowledge about the world. (p.3)

Methodologically, Eisner (1991), Reinharz (1992), and Haig-Brown (1992), who represent a range of qualitative researchers, characterise this stance in terms of there being a paucity of prescriptions in qualitative methodology, in contrast to the prescriptive, testable approach of quantitative methodology. Eisner (1991), Reinharz (1992), and Haig-Brown (1992) argue that this distinction reflects a number of factors. These include:

- 1) Rather than seeking standardisation, uniformity and normalisation, qualitative enquiry seeks an idiosyncratic focus on the relationships between individuals' strengths, ideas, aptitudes and ideologies and the cultural context within which they are located.
- 2) The form of the research process is influenced by style, and style is seen as personal and subjective. Far from trying to minimise personal style in order to ensure replicability, as does positivism, the individual researcher is seen as inextricably part of the work, where "the whole self is the instrument of research" (Haig-Brown, 1992, p.104).
- 3) It is impossible to predict the flow of events that will unfurl nor is it possible to predict how long a project may take, therefore, "qualitative inquiry works best if researchers remain aware of the emerging configurations and make appropriate adjustments accordingly" (Eisner, 1991, p.170).
- 4) The power of individuals in the research relationship is granted recognition in that the end product of any research project is the result of the reciprocal interactions between researcher and researched." As in a good conversation, one listens to the other, and how, when and what one says depends upon what the other has to say" (Eisner, 1991, p.170). In this sense conversation is a metaphor for reciprocity.

- 5) As Reinharz (1992) suggests, qualitative inquiry focuses "on interpretation, relies on the researchers' immersion in social settings and aim(s) for intersubjective understanding between researchers and the person(s) studied" (p.46).
- 6) Qualitative inquiry rejects the idea of an external 'discoverable reality' independent of the researcher. Instead, it is necessary for researchers, by participation to acknowledge "that they interpret and define reality" (Reinharz, 1992 p.46).

These six factors illustrate that in qualitative inquiry there is a considerable and ongoing shift from the dominant positivist paradigm by researchers. Integral to this movement has been the realisation of the importance of meaning and interpretation of people's lives within their cultural contexts. As Thomas (1993) explains, people in their contexts are "engaged in attempts at relating and communicating: are making efforts to understand and interpret their own behaviour and that of others in their community, context or milieu" (p.232). Thomas (1993) suggests that one of the implications of these 'strivings and activities' is that there is a possibility of developing "shared or negotiated meanings and shared and negotiated interpretations of both behaviours and thoughts" (p.232). Such a stance diverts the focus of attention away from an exclusive focus on information and data and on to ideas, thoughts, perceptions and especially meanings by substituting organic, holistic metaphors for mechanistic ones.

SHIFTING PARADIGMS FOR RESEARCH: CHALLENGES FROM INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

It is important to note, however, that the preceding analysis is the result of a paradigm shift within Western social science. It is also significant to note that both this research approach to constituting and defining knowledge, as well as the approach to improving its methodologies by shifting the research paradigm, is challenged by indigenous peoples. This challenge rejects the binary dialectic implied in simply replacing quantitative research with qualitative research. This challenge is focussed at the impositional tendencies of all research processes that embody artificial and hegemonic power relationships (distances) between the researchers and researched. This challenge is directed at the domination of agenda-setting by researchers. Both quantitative and qualitative researchers need to address the problem of researcher imposition in their enterprises and to critique research methodologies that are rooted within the ideologies of dominant cultures.

Paradigm shifting (after Kuhn, in Lather, 1991) need not result in any change in the relationship between the researcher and those they research. Paradigm shifting may still perpetuate researcher domination through maintaining control of agenda setting within the domain of the researcher. To suggest that a qualitative as opposed to a quantitative approach would itself reorient the research enterprise to meeting the needs of the researched peoples, remains an unrealised hope. Simply stated, if this were to have been the case, then surely it would have happened already! While this book suggests that some post-structural discourses address such issues, Western tradition will not be able to solve these problems on its own, despite the trend in qualitative research to develop a politic of liberation.

Whatever the research method used, and regardless of the methodological framework within which such a method is developed, there is the need for the theoretical framework to address Māori cultural aspirations for power and control over the issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability. This needs to occur in such a way as to create a power sharing process in the research.

In other words, methods that have been selected and applied from and within the interests of the dominant discourse will have limited success in addressing Māori people's concerns about research into their lives. Neither does it follow that quantitative methods per se are inevitably linked to researcher imposition on Māori people. Given Māori people's ownership over the initiative, representation and legitimacy dimensions of a research project, the choice of a positivistic approach, embodying quantitative analysis may be appropriate and effective for answering some research questions. Nevertheless, in this chapter we wish to examine a very popular qualitative research tool and demonstrate how it can be modified in order to address Māori priorities.

THE INTERVIEW AS A TOOL FOR ADDRESSING RESEARCHER IMPOSITION

The interview is a very common tool used by researchers in attempts to address researcher imposition. However, interviews carry much 'cultural baggage' and assumptions from their very ubiquity. Is it possible to select or modify an interview method so that it addresses Māori concerns about researcher imposition and power sharing in research? The interview itself can be a strategy controlled by the researcher and repressive of the position of the informant/participant. This underlies the position taken by Oakley (1981) in a critical review of the literature of the previous decades. She concluded that the paradigm of the social science research interview promoted in the methodological textbooks does, then, emphasise (a) its status as a mechanical instrument of data collection; (b) its function as a specialised form of conversation in which one person asks the questions and another gives the answers; (c) its characterisation of interviewees as essentially passive individuals, and (d) its reduction of interviewers to a question asking and rapport-promoting role. (p.36)

Oakley (1981) is critical of the prescriptive nature of this approach to interviewing. This approach focuses on gathering data from essentially passive informants who are led through a series of pre-determined questions by a 'neutral' interviewer. She is also critical of the prescriptions laid down for the interviewer to be a recorder, not a debater, and that the interviewee must be treated as an "object" or as a data producing "machine". This approach essentially reproduces positivistic research approaches (Ballard, 1994) which reduce both interviewer and interviewee to the status of "depersonalised participants in the research process" (Oakley, 1981, p.37). Oakley (1981) is also critical of those who suggest that the interview be conducted in a "non-directive" manner. Researchers in this hierarchical, "expert-client" relationship use non-directive comments, such as "tell me more", "why?", "isn't that interesting" or "uh huh" to encourage a free association of ideas in order to reveal the "truth" that the research has been designed to uncover in the first place.

Oakley (1981) concludes that both of these approaches to interviewing see the interviewer-interviewee relationship as one which can be defined in terms of binary relationships where

Interviewers define the role of interviewee as subordinate; extracting information is more to be valued than yielding it; the convention of interviewer-interviewee hierarchy is a rationalisation of inequality; what is good for the interviewers is not necessarily good for the interviewees (p.40).

Developments in interviewing have been toward mediating the tensions identified by Oakley (1981) and developing what could be termed an *enhanced research relationship*. Oakley (1981) suggested that finding out about people through interviewing "is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest his or her own personal identity in the relationship" (p.41). The need to encourage disclosure on the part of

the researcher is also elaborated by Burgess (1984), Lather (1991) and Haig-Brown (1992), researchers who work in widely divergent fields. Reinharz (1992) develops this notion of reciprocity further and suggests an orientation that is "interviewee guided" so that subtleties are identified and reacted to, and that the meaning being expressed/sought by the interviewees becomes paramount and mutual trust is developed. Reinharz (1992) also suggests that the interview process needs to explore people's views of reality (p.18), and needs to encourage openness, trust between participants, engagement and development of potentially long lasting relationships (also in Oakley, 1981, p.42) in order to form strong bonds between interviewer and interviewee.

SEQUENTIAL, SEMI-STRUCTURED, IN-DEPTH, "INTERVIEWS AS CONVERSATIONS"

Semi-structured or unstructured interviews (Reinharz, 1992), 'interviews as conversations' (Burgess, 1984), 'in-depth' interviews (Patton, 1990) and co-structured interviews (Tripp, 1983) are procedures designed for interviewing research participants in order to operationalise the *enhanced research relationship*. It is claimed that this procedure addresses the tendency for researcher imposition by offering researchers more than just people's ideas encapsulated within the words and ideological frameworks of the researcher. To Reinharz (1992, p.19), semi-structured interviews offer access to people's ideas, thoughts and memories in their own words. To Burgess (1984), Oakley (1981) and Haig-Brown (1992), among others, this type of interview offers the opportunity to develop a reciprocal, dialogic relationship based on mutual trust, openness and engagement. In this relationship self-disclosure, personal investment and equality are promoted. This in effect defines a symmetrical relationship. Further, Lather (1991) suggests in-depth interviews offer a means of constructing what experiences mean to people. Tripp (1983) adds that these meanings can be constituted in terms of what people mean to say rather than simply the words they said.

The analogy of an in-depth interview as a conversation is suggested by Burgess (1984). However, Patton (1990) warns that conversation should not be taken too literally because in everyday conversations:

questions lack clarity. Answers go unheard. The sequence of questions and answers lacks direction. The person asking questions frequently interrupts the person responding. (p.108)

Therefore, conversation is best seen as a metaphor for this type of interview, which focuses on depth, detail and "probes beneath the surface, soliciting detail and providing a holistic understanding of the interviewee's point of view" (p.108).

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews promote free interaction and opportunities for clarification and discussion between research participants through the use of open-ended questions rather than closed questions. In-depth interviews will "more clearly reveal the existing opinions of the interviewee in the context of a world-view than will a traditional interview where the interviewer's role is confined to that of question-maker and recorder" (Tripp, 1983, p.34), as in survey research (Burgess, 1984; Eisner, 1991). Further, reflection of meaning rather than asking an interviewee to choose from a range of options predetermined and presented by an interviewer will better promote an interaction of ideas between the people participating in the interview. Tripp (1983) specifies that "for the interviewer it is as important to learn what questions are important to the interviewee as it is to learn what questions

are considered important by the interviewer” (p.34). Hence, allowing for reciprocal design and co-joint responsibility for structuring the interview partly addresses the impositional power of the researcher to deny a symmetrical relationship.

Lather (1991) suggests further that a *sequence* of semi-structured, in-depth interviews has the potential to maximise reciprocity through negotiation and construction of meaning, "...at a minimum this entails recycling description, emerging analysis and conclusions. A more maximal approach would involve research participants in a collaborative effort to build empirically rooted theory” (p.61). This allows for a "deeper probing of research issues” (p.61) by the process of returning to topics raised in previous interviews. The topic is revisited, in light of reflection undertaken by the research participants in the interim period. Tripp (1983) adds that what is written as a product of the interview interaction may well differ from the actual words spoken, but may represent a consensus of the views and opinions held by the participants at that time, being subject to modification through being revisited in subsequent interviews.

However, "finding out about people", "self-disclosure" and the "development of long-term relationships", even through a series of in-depth interviews as "conversations" focussing on developing an "enhanced research relationship", do not address researcher imposition so long as the interview remains a *data gathering exercise*. However, such an approach is still very common. Graham (in Reinharz, 1992), for example, states that "the use of semi-structured interviews has become the *principal means* by which feminists have sought to achieve the active involvement of their respondents in the *construction of data* (italics added) about their lives” (p.18). Patton (1990) also suggests that "the basic thrust of qualitative interviewing is to minimise the imposition of predetermined responses when *gathering data*” (p.122 - italics added).

Therefore, if the orientation of qualitative interviewing remains "a research approach whereby the researcher plans to ask questions about a given topic but allows the data-gathering conversation itself to determine how the data is obtained” (Reinharz, 1992, p.81), the researcher's agenda is still promoted. This is so because the agenda of the interview, that of data gathering for use by the researcher, remains the focus of the exercise. No manner of researcher disclosure, engagement, or development of long term relationships will necessarily address what happens to the data if the focus of the interview remains solely on data collection. How those data are interpreted and used is usually implicitly if not explicitly out of the hands of the research participants.

As Tripp (1983) suggests, the crucial question becomes, "who controls what happens to the data and how”? (p.34). In other words, what considerations are given to the processing of the information, the sense making processes and the means of constructing meaning/seeking explanations? In order to address the imposition of the researcher in processing the information, we need to question what happens to data beyond the gathering stage. Perhaps more importantly, we need to address issues of representation and legitimation by questioning who writes the account of the research interview and who judges it to be fair?

WHO CONTROLS WHAT HAPPENS TO THE DATA?

The treatment of research participants as objects "for whom meaning and recommendations are unilaterally constructed by the researcher" is rejected by post-positivist researchers (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, cited in Robinson, 1993). Therefore, when deciding how to present an analysis of data, "the

problem of finding a focus and selecting and organising what to say is crucial" (Eisner, 1991, p.189). How do you reduce events occurring in "real time" to a "portrait" that represents the salient features of an experience? Eisner suggests the use of an inductive approach similar to that of Glaser and Strauss's (1967) "Grounded Theory"³² which is described in Burgess (1984), Delamont (1992) and further developed in Strauss and Corbin (1994). This process assumes that qualitative research, by relying on induction rather than deduction, will necessarily address issues of imposition, participation and power sharing by the formulation of themes, those recurring messages construed from the events observed and the interviews transcribed.

In the process of formulating themes, researchers are required to "distil the material they have put together" (Eisner, 1991, p.190). The notes, interviews, ideas, comments, recollections, reflections can be used to "inductively generate thematic categories" (p.189). Eisner (1991) comments that

all these categories represent efforts to distil the major themes that would provide a structure to the writing. Within this structure authors select material, which they then use to illustrate the theories they have formulated. To do this well, authors must construct what is essential and use enough description to make the thematic content vivid. Themes also provide structures for the interpretation and appraisal of the events described. (p.190)

He continues by considering that the

thematic structures derived inductively from the material researchers have put together and from the observations they have made can provide hubs around which the story can be told. The stories told around these thematic situations can then be used as material for a summary account of a story as a whole. (p.191)

However, an approach that leaves to the researcher the categorisation of themes and the subsequent sense and meaning construction (as Eisner suggests above, the development of *a summary account of the story*), does not address the impositional tendencies inherent in this activity. Inductive development of themes may well come from the author's ideas alone. Data can be selected to fit the preconceptions of the author and data can also be selected to construct theories. Tripp (1983) suggests that the fundamental question being addressed by Eisner, regarding the processing of data, or as he puts it "making people's views public", is really of a political (with a small "p") nature. In this sense, then, Eisner's original 'How to?' questions render this process a quasi-positivistic search for prescription in the name of pragmatism. Instead, Tripp (1983) suggests a return to those structural issues of authority and representation; "who controls what happens to the data, and how?" and "in the research interview, who writes the account and judges it fair?" as being of primary concern. The approach that Eisner (1991) suggests perpetuates the imposition of the researcher's interpretation and editorial analysis and therefore locates ownership of the information with the researcher. This outcome obtains despite methods being employed which might facilitate the 'voice' of the researched person to be heard.

³² Nevertheless, Delamont (1992) describes the development of "grounded Theory" in 1967 as 'ground-breaking', in that it provided the major intellectual justification for not using statistical sampling techniques.

Tripp (1983) warns of qualitative accounts that intersperse interview quotations from the interviews of a dozen informants among the author's own narrative. The danger is that this approach may impose "particular interpretations over which any one interviewee has absolutely no control" (p.35). Qualifying or countering statements may be omitted, statements may be taken out of context and used to support the views, assumptions and aspirations of the author. There may be an opportunity later in the research project when the researcher sets out what has been learnt from the research experience. However, to claim this is a strategy promoting power sharing and self-determination is leaving too much to chance.

In addressing the problem of researcher control over what happens to the "data" Opie (1989) describes a common practice that has emerged in recent years.

In order to minimise appropriation through misrepresentation and stereotype, to expand the researcher's appreciation of the situation as a result of discussion and reworking the text with the participants, and to realign the balance of power in the research relationship, a practice has developed, which crosses disciplinary boundaries, of giving a draft of the report to participants and asking them to comment on its validity. (p.8-9)

For example, commonly researchers will interview their subjects, then categorise these interviews, identifying themes which are developed inductively by the researcher, who then theorises, i.e. suggests explanations for an implications of the patterns that emerge inductively from earlier interviews.

However, (Opie, 1989) suggests that this procedure may not be sufficient. Problems may develop when disagreements arise over interpretation. Opie suggests that, should there be such disagreements, rather than engaging in further time-consuming negotiations, the researcher may subordinate their position or simply eliminate contentious material.

Further, this approach raises the issue of benefits again. The person who receives the (often huge) transcript, is obliged to spend a considerable amount of time interacting with the text. The arrival of a vast colour-coded transcript in the mail, assuming recipients are interested enough to interact at the level of concentration practised by the researcher, raises the issue of the 'response cost' in terms of the 'cost of non-compliance'. That is, the cost of resistance in terms of time and effort required may be too great for them to engage in, particularly if what they are asked to engage with is the analysis undertaken by the researcher rather than their being asked to reflect on what they said in terms of their own analysis. The problem may be compounded in cases of cross-cultural translation of meaning as Urion (1990) addresses (in Te Hennepe, 1993). In all, a high degree of compliance with the researcher's analysis and constructions may be an unsuspected and invalid outcome. Nevertheless, returning the script to the co-participant is a necessary part of the ongoing dialogue. However, it is emphasised that engagement should be with the text and not with the analysis done by the researcher. This is to maximise opportunities for reciprocal negotiation and a collaborative construction of meaning by the participants.

Furthermore, depiction of the actual words of the research participant is often insisted upon. However, there is a danger that this strategy may replace the search for meaning through engagement in sequential discourse with a concentration on literal representation. Often, the actual words used at a particular time may not convey the full meaning that the person wanted to express. They may be able,

on reflection, to express themselves in a manner that further explains or advances their position and understanding. This highlights the importance of *sequential* interviews that are, in Lather's (1991) terms, conducted within a framework of "dialogic reflexivity". This method insists that the theory generated (i.e. the meaning constructed/the explanations arrived at), must be a product of the interaction between the interview and interviewee, researcher/ researched. In other words, to ensure the fair representation of the participants' views, "negotiation of the account of meaning is essential" (Tripp, 1983, p.39).

How to convey the "intensity of the speaking voice" (Opie, 1989, p.7) in a written text and how to identify the non-verbal factors are further complex considerations. Tripp (1983) argues that the interviewer's intended meaning may be lost in the transfer from an oral to a written account. Within the oral interview each participant is aware of their relationship with the other, assumptions are made about prior knowledge of the topic under discussion, references may be made to shared experiences, and dialogue may take the form of incomplete utterances interspersed with body language as the two attempt to clarify their understanding of the topic under discussion. Taken out of the interview context, and read by others who may not share the initial perspective and topic knowledge, the transcript may be read without the aid of visual prompts such as facial expression and body language, and as such may not convey the intended meaning. As such, Tripp (1983) views the interview (and subsequent written transcripts) as being tools useful to help the participants to reflect, modify and reflect again on their ideas in order to present the meaning they sought in a form understandable to the reader.

Therefore, the research participants are attempting to talk to the reader directly. What then does this mean for the position of the researcher? If we as researchers abrogate the function of interpreter of gathered data, what is our function? Beyond participating in the research story, it would appear that our function is to act as a 'secretary' for the group, to write an account of the events as directed by the deliberations of the group of which we are a part. In the process of developing a collaboratively constructed story, we collaboratively draw out highlights, conclusions and considerations. Such 'coding' is revisited in further interviews.

Tripp (1983) also suggests that *our position is not one of reflection and*

polite consideration of the opinion of others, but rather may well have become a warm argument...both participants...may be forced to take account of inconsistencies in and objections to their expressed viewpoint, and to examine and possibly change their views, rather than simply to articulate them for transcription. (p.34)

Arguments may be put up for evaluation, probing and responding, positions may be challenged by suggesting the other person is wrong, that they have misconceptions, clouded views, blurred vision and so on. The aim of this approach is to explore the assumptions and the implications of the positions taken by the research participants (including the researcher as participant).

TWO EXAMPLES OF COLLABORATIVE CONSTRUCTION OF MEANING

Case one: researching Canadian First Nation students' experiences with anthropology classes

Shelia Te Hennepe (1993), when reporting on researching Canadian First Nation students' experiences with anthropology classes, indicated how such an approach could be developed. At first she divided the research process into a series of phases that were distinct as to process, knowledge revealed, and limitations and problems encountered. Initially there was the phase of participating in conversations, which she describes as "we discuss what you heard (experienced) and what it meant to you" (p.213). This was followed by her "analysis of what we said" (p.214). During this second phase she coded the transcripts into "general categories that emerged from the transcripts as topics of conversation in the stories I had been told" (p.214). These categories were used to identify the common themes which were then used to recode the transcripts in order to generate questions from a central theme, in this case authority.

However, on reflection, Te Hennepe raised two concerns about her approach. She acknowledged that the typed script "is the beginning of the research participants' loss of control over their words and over ways their words will be manipulated. Some might say that the speaking of the words was the beginning of the loss" (p.218). The second concern she raised was that her coding of the interviews created a representational problem. Although she was familiar with the First Nation's peoples' perceptions, she was outside of their actual lived experiences. The categories employed were her categories, based on her perceptions. On reflection, she suggested that "only collaborative coding would be legitimately representational" (p.218). Te Hennepe considers that she could have sought to create a representational language that spoke with the voices of those involved. Her concern was that by removing segments of conversation from their sense-making context, she was removing the individual from their cultural context, that cultural complexity which gives an individual 'voice'. She therefore questions how researchers, especially those from a different culture, can position themselves as creators of space where those directly involved, and with actual lived experience, "can act and speak on their own behalf" (after Lather, 1989, in Te Hennepe, 1993, p.218). Te Hennepe suggests that in light of these considerations, the first two phases of analysis, interviewing and coding should be collapsed into one approach, seeking the authentic voice unconstrained by the categories developed by the researcher.

The third phase of Te Hennepe's research has further culturally appropriate messages for New Zealand. She said that this final phase was where "I create a text to represent what I learned" (p.206). This locates the researcher into a whānau (extended family) context, as teina, a learner, as a participant who is working for the good of the group and who is stating what they have learnt from their tuakana (older) in the whānau.

Case two: A collaborative meta-study of five research projects conducted within Māori contexts

In a recent collaborative meta-study of five research projects conducted within Māori contexts, an attempt was made to develop and implement such an approach (Bishop, 1995, 1996). The meta-study sought to ascertain in what ways the researchers, in each of the five projects, were addressing Māori people's concerns about traditional patterns of research. In New Zealand such research has fostered the imposition of the researcher's interests and concerns on the research process. The overall framework of the projects and the meta-analysis was Kaupapa Māori research which is collectivistic

and orientated toward benefitting all the research participants and their collectively determined agendas. Kaupapa Māori research is based on a growing consensus that research involving Māori knowledge and people needs to be conducted in culturally appropriate ways, ways that fit Māori cultural preferences, practices and aspirations in order to develop and acknowledge existing culturally appropriate approaches in the method, practice and organisation of research. The meta-study examined how a group of researchers addressed the importance of devolving power and control in the research exercise in order to promote *self-determination (tino rangatiratanga)* of Māori people, i.e. to act as educational professionals in ways consistent with Article 2 of the Treaty of Waitangi. The first author talked with researchers who had accepted the challenge of *positioning* themselves or more probably being repositioned by and within the discursive practice that is Kaupapa Māori.

The first author's interest in investigating how other researchers addressed Māori people's concerns about research developed as the result of critical reflection on the process of conducting research within his own Māori family (Bishop, 1991, 1994).

However, my objective was not to judge other researchers or their projects against a set of criteria that I had established while conducting and/or critiquing my own study. Further, to ignore my own role in the process of investigation was not acceptable because I was also a participant in the projects with views, experiences and interests of my own. Hence, it seemed that a more realistic approach was to facilitate a joint construction of meaning. (Bishop, 1997. p.40)

As a result, negotiations were conducted and agreements reached to carry out a series of formal, in-depth, co-structured interviews (after Tripp, 1983; Burgess, 1984; Patton, 1990; Eisner, 1991; Reinharz, 1992). An interview schedule, which underwent constant modification, was used to guide researcher reflections on how the research community operationalises the issues of initiation, benefits, representation, legitimation and accountability within a culturally appropriate context. The interviews sought to find out to what extent the power to define and protect the knowledge created by the research participants was constituted within the research process. In addition, a sequence of informal "interviews as chat" (after Haig-Brown, 1992) took place. Both formal and informal interviews were conducted within the context of co-joint participation in the projects.

The meta-study sought to investigate the first author's own position as a researcher within a co-joint reflection on shared experiences and co-joint construction of meanings about these experiences, a position where the stories of the other research participants merged with his own to create new stories. Such *collaborative stories* go beyond an approach that simply focuses on the cooperative sharing of experiences and focuses on connectedness, engagement, and involvement with the other research participants within the cultural world view/discursive practice within which they function. This study sought to identify what constitutes this engagement and what implications this has for promoting self-determination/agency/voice in the research participants by examining concepts of *participatory and cultural consciousness* and *connectedness* within Māori discursive practice.

The stories that the researchers told demonstrated how they have located themselves within new 'story-lines' that address the contradictory nature of the traditional researcher/researched relationship. The language used contains the key to the new story-lines; the metaphor and imagery are those located within the research participant's domain and the researchers either were or have moved to become part

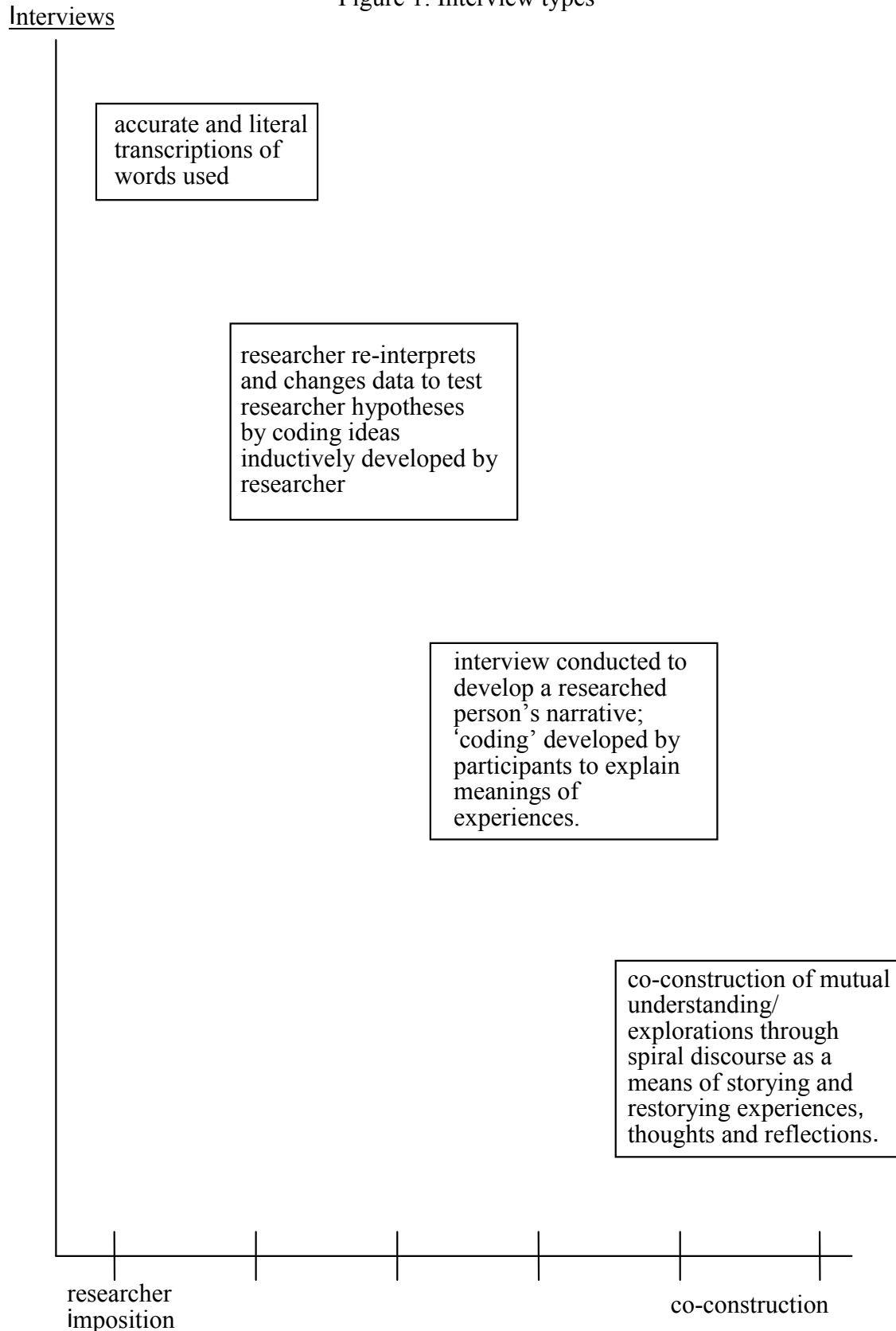
of this domain. The researchers had positioned themselves or had been positioned by the use of contextually constituted metaphor within the domain where others can constitute themselves as agentic. Within this domain there are discursive practices which provide researchers with positions that enable us to carry through our negotiated lines of action.

Mishler (1986) explains this idea further by suggesting that in order to construct meaning it is necessary to appreciate how meaning is grounded in, and constructed through, discourse. Discursive practice is contextually (for example, culturally) and individually related. Meanings in discourse are neither singular nor fixed. Terms take on "specific and contextually grounded meanings within and through the discourse as it develops and is shaped by speakers" (p.65). A 'community of interest' between researchers and participants or among participants (call them what you will) cannot be created unless the interview is constructed so that

interviewers and respondents, strive to arrive together at meanings that both can understand. The relevance and appropriateness of questions and responses emerges through and is realised in the discourse itself. The standard process of analysis of interviews abstracts both questions and responses from this process. By suppressing the discourse and by assuming shared and standard meanings, this approach short-circuits the problem of meaning. (Mishler, 1986, p.65)

This therefore suggests a trade-off between two extremes. The first position claims "the words of an interview are the most accurate data and that the transcript of those words carries that accuracy with negligible loss" (Tripp, 1983, p.40). Such a position moves on from that where a narrative is recorded by a researcher. In other words, what people say should be presented unaltered and not analysed in any way beyond that which the respondent undertook. The second position maximises researcher interpretation, editorial control and ownership. This book suggests a third position where the 'coding' procedure is established and developed by the research participants as a process of 're-storying', that is the co-joint creation of further meaning. In other words there is an attempt within the interviews and within a sequence of interviews through a process of spiral discourse to actually co-construct a mutual understanding by means of sharing experiences, thoughts and reflections. This pattern is illustrated in diagram 3.1. The interaction patterns that constitute the co-construction approach will be used in chapters four and five as models for classroom interactions.

Figure 1: Interview types



In this meta-study, an agreed-to agenda was derived from the Kaupapa Māori research context. This agenda was used by the research participants to identify issues, descriptions, analyses and conclusions that became part of a narrative and also to identify issues that needed clarification and consideration in

the next interview. Further, from this position the participants' words themselves are flexible, being of less importance than the collaboratively constructed views and meanings of the research participants. The narratives become 'co-authored statements', an agreed-upon account of the discussions that employs a "cycle of negotiation, discussions and writing ... an accurate record of the actual words spoken is of less importance than the effective transformation by the researcher of what was actually said into what the participants want written about what they said" (Tripp, 1983, p.35).

This further suggests there is the need to develop a way to conduct interviews so that the 'coding' exercise, as a product of shared meanings, becomes part of the process of description and analysis. It is suggested that sequential, semi-structured, in-depth, "interviews as conversations" conducted in a dialogic, reflexive manner need to be developed in order to facilitate ongoing collaborative analysis and construction of meaning/explanations about the experiences of the research participants. This process is termed spiral discourse.

Consequently, rather than needing to reduce the distance between researcher and researched in quantitative terms (as suggested by Troyna & Carrington, 1989), spiral discourse provides a means of effecting a qualitative shift in terms of how participants *relate* to each other. One way of achieving this shift is by focussing on stories and narratives of these stories. In this approach it is important first to consider in what ways those who are traditionally the passive 'researched', those who are traditionally without voice, can speak. Narrative inquiry requires a shift in the relationship between those traditionally constituted as researchers and those traditionally constituted as researched.

In such ways, the researchers in the meta-study participated in a process that facilitated the development in people of a sense of themselves as agentic and of having an authoritative voice. This is not a result of the researcher 'allowing' this to happen nor of the researcher 'empowering' participants. It is the function of the cultural context within which the research participants position themselves, negotiate and conduct the research that is the interactions. The cultural context positions the participants by constructing the story lines, and with them the cultural metaphors and images, as well as the 'thinking as usual', the talk/language through which research participants are constituted and researcher/researched relationships are organised. Thus the joint development of new story-lines is a collaborative effort. The researcher and the researched together rewrite the constitutive metaphors of the relationship. What makes the enterprise Māori is that it is done using Māori metaphor within a Māori cultural context.

One of the major understandings that such a process demonstrates is that whakawhanaungatanga (establishing relationships in a Māori context) is used metaphorically to give voice to a culturally positioned means of collaboratively constructing research stories in a '*culturally conscious and connected manner*'. There are three major overlapping implications of whakawhanaungatanga as a research strategy. The first is that establishing and maintaining relationships is a fundamental, often extensive and ongoing, part of the research process. This involves the establishment of '*whānau of interest*' through a process of '*spiral discourse*'. The second is that researchers understand themselves to be involved *somatically* in the research process; that is physically, ethically, morally and spiritually and not just as a 'researcher' concerned with methodology. Such positionings are demonstrated in the language/metaphor used by the researchers in the stories described in this study. The third is that establishing relationships in a Māori context addresses the power and control issues fundamental to research, because it involves participatory research practices, in this context termed '*participant driven*'

research' (Bishop, 1995, 1996) and calls for "researcher commitment" and not simply for removing research bias.

The researchers in the meta study employed a number of other Māori metaphors to explain their involvement in the research process. These included hui (take, koha, whitiwhiti korero, mauri, raranga korero), tuakana/teina, tino rangatiratanga, tāonga tuku iho, waka, kawa. One example of how Māori metaphor sets the scene for different interaction patterns and how these interactions address the five issues of power and control is seen when researchers explain the meaning constructed of their experiences of hui and powhiri.

A hui includes a formal welcome, a powhiri, a welcome rich in cultural meaning and imagery, and cultural practices which fulfil the enormously culturally important task of recognising the relative tapu (potentiality for power) and mana of all the participants.³³ Salmond (1975) and Irwin (1992) both detail the ritualised coming together of hui participants. Symbolically this is of enormous importance for establishing research agendas for it is here that the relationship is established and the interaction patterns that are determined by the kawa of the marae are invoked. Full participation in the research requires the researcher to be able to engage meaningfully in the powhiri process, and to understand the power and control issues represented and addressed, and their own part in this process. Once the formal welcome is complete, and once the participants have been ritually joined together by the process of the powhiri, hui participants move onto the discussion of the 'take' or the matter under consideration. This usually takes place within the meeting house, a place designated for this very purpose, free of distractions and interruptions. It is also significant that such deliberations take place within a house that is symbolically the embodiment of an ancestor, further emphasising the normality of a somatic approach to knowing in such a setting and within these processes. The participants address the matters under consideration, under the guidance of kaumātua (respected elders), whose primary function is to create and monitor the correct spiritual and procedural framework within which the participants can discuss the issues before them. The 'take' is laid down, as it were in front of all. Then people get a chance to address the issue without fear of being interrupted.

Generally the procedure at a hui is for people to speak one after another, either in sequence of left to right or of anyone participating as they see fit. People get a chance to state and restate their meanings, to revisit their meanings, and to modify, delete, adapt their meanings according to local tikanga. The discourse spirals, in that the flow of talk may seem circuitous, opinions may vary and waver, but the seeking of a collaboratively constructed story is central. The controls over proceedings are temporal in the form of kaumātua, and spiritual, as in all Māori cultural practices. The procedures are steeped in metaphoric meanings, richly abstract allusions being made constantly to cultural messages, stories, events of the past and aspirations for the future. They are also highly effective in dealing with contemporary issues and concerns of all kinds.

³³ Salmond, A. (1975); Irwin, K. (1992); Shirres, M. (1982), 'Tapu' in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. 91(1), pp. 29-52. Both detail the ritualised coming together of hui participants. Symbolically this is of enormous importance for establishing research agendas for it is here that the relationship is established and the interaction patterns that are determined by the kawa of the marae are invoked.

Rose Pere (1991) describes the key qualities of a hui as

respect, consideration, patience, and co-operation. People need to feel that they have the right and the time to express their point of view. You may not always agree with the speakers, but it is considered bad form to interrupt their flow of speech while they are standing on their feet; one has to wait to make a comment. People may be as frank as they like about others at the hui, but usually state their case in such a way that the person being criticised can stand up with some dignity in his/her right of reply. Once everything has been fully discussed and the members come to some form of consensus, the hui concludes with a prayer and the partaking of food. (p.44)

The aim of a hui is to reach consensus, to arrive at a jointly constructed meaning. But the decision that this has or has not been achieved rests within the Māori culture, i.e. in the kaumātua. This takes time, days if need be, or sometimes a series of hui will be held in order that the kaumātua monitoring proceedings can tell when a constructed 'voice' has been arrived at. At the departure from a hui, a process of poroporoaki takes place and is often a time when new agendas or directions are set or laid out. Again used metaphorically, poroporoaki (ritual farewells) can well be part of a research process.

Hui as a metaphor for collaborative storytelling

Just as story telling is a culturally located and culturally legitimated process, so the process of collaborative story construction can be understood within Māori cultural practices. Metaphorically, the concept of a Māori hui (ceremonial meeting) describes the interactions between the participants within the interviews and the process of arriving at an agreed story/write-up of the narratives.

The situation of two or three people collaboratively constructing a story about their experiences within a particular research context can be understood within Māori cultural practices. Metaphorically, the concept of the hui (meeting) describes the interactions between the participants within the interviews and the process of arriving at an agreed collaborative story. The interviews for the meta-study were conducted within a context where there had already been a ritual of encounter, a metaphoric 'powhiri' (welcome) process in which there had already been an expression of the 'take' (subject) under discussion. These 'take' had been 'laid down' as it were, and there had already been participation by the interviewer in the activities of the researched. This was not a case where interviews were conducted with people selected by the researcher for the likelihood that they would contribute to the researcher's agenda. These interviews were a useful part of an already existing and ongoing exercise. The procedure of arriving at a collaborative consensual 'story' at a hui was replicated in the sequence of formal semi-structured, in-depth interviews and the informal 'interviews as chat' within the agreed-to agenda of Kaupapa Māori framework of research that were the ways in which the collaborative stories that constituted the bulk of the research (see Bishop, 1996)

The following diagram shows the range of interview types covered so far and indicates how interviews can vary on a range of parameters.

Diagram 3.2: Interviewing

	Interviews as			
	Opinion surveys	Grounded theory data gathering	Stand alone narratives	Collaborate storytelling
Initiation	researcher	researcher	story teller	out of ongoing context
Position of interviewee	informant	informant	tuakana	tuakana
Position of interviewer	expert	expert	teina	teina
Benefits – who determines	‘expert’ researcher	‘expert’ researcher	story teller	partners mutual story tellers
What happens to the data?	collated for researcher purpose	gathered for thematic analysis	constituted as story/narrative	fed back for mutual restorying and theorising.
Representation –who theorises?	researcher	researcher with researched partially	story teller	story tellers mutually arrived at theorising.
Type of interview	fact finding	in-depth semi-structured interview within an enhanced research relationship	sequential in-depth semi-structured interview as conversation.	sequential in-depth semi-structured interview as conversations.
Outcome	opinions collated	thematically analysed data helps construct a researcher narrative.	an experiential narrative	a jointly constructed collaborative story.
Legitimation	researcher’s methodological framework.	researcher’s methodological framework.	Researcher participant’s cultural framework.	Research participant’s cultural framework.
Accountability	to external institutions	researcher to researched and to their own narrative	researcher to researched.	researcher to researched.

Conclusion

This chapter has suggested that in indigenous research contexts, rather than the interview being a research tool primarily used by the researcher to gather data for subsequent processing, interviews be developed to position the researcher within co-joint reflections on shared experiences and *co-joint construction of meanings about these experiences, a position where the stories of the research participants merge with that of the researcher in order to create new stories*. Thomas (1993) terms this position as being part of a *collaborative narrative construction*. Tripp (1983) refers to this as creating *co-authored statements*. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) term it *collaborative stories*, that is the co-joint construction of what Ballard (1994), terms *research as stories*. The next two chapters of

this book will suggest that this approach is also appropriate for addressing power sharing interaction patterns in classrooms.

Interviews as collaborative storytelling goes beyond an approach that simply focuses on the cooperative sharing of experiences and focuses on connectedness, engagement, and involvement with the other research participants. However, what is crucial for researching in indigenous contexts is *that it necessarily will take place within the cultural world view and discursive practice within which the research participants function, make sense of their lives and understand their experiences*. Both quantitative and qualitative researchers have been slow to acknowledge the importance of culture and cultural differences as key components in successful research practice and understandings.

This chapter has argued that the interview can be a means of constituting such engagement. The tendency in traditional research has been to initiate and conduct research within frameworks established by the concerns and interests of the researcher. However, promoting self-determination/agency/voice in the research participants by restructuring the research relationship and its interaction patterns offers a powerful means to address issues of power and control from within the domain of the participant.

In other forms of narrative inquiry Connelly and Clandinin (1987, 1990) suggest that the research participants need to first tell their story. Therefore, in attempts at collaboration, it is the researcher as *manuhiri* (the visitor) who needs to be quiet/silent and attentive so that the person who has long been silenced in the research relationship has the time and space to tell their story. This contributes to removing the traditional dominance of the researcher. Note the parallel here to the role of *manuhiri* in relation to *tangata whenua* in a *powhiri* where the *manuhiri* have to wait to be called. *Attentiveness in this sense as in a state of abeyance means that the researcher is waiting and willing to participate*, and that their agenda, concerns and intents do not swamp the voice of the research participant. However, the 'researcher in abeyance' is willing and able to participate in a 'conversation' that is more directly related to the intents, concerns and agendas of the research participants. Such a position is respectful, and means the researcher is disallowing the dominance of the self, becoming fully attentive to the other people. This allows other participants' stories to gain the *authority* and the *validity* that the researcher's story has had for so long. This initiation sets the scene and the pattern for subsequent interactions where the research participants (termed as such to remove the discursive distance established by the conceptualisation of researcher and researched) engage in an interactive, complex, holistic approach to research. This involves mutual telling and retelling of stories by people who are living those stories. In such an approach to narrative inquiry, research participants are engaging in a discourse, where meanings are contextually grounded and shift as the discourse develops and is shaped by the speakers (Mishler, 1986, p.65). In this way, research participants tell others of their experiences and relive their experiences and their stories of their experiences, their stories of their stories and so on, which is exactly as goes on in the *wharenui after* the *whakanoa*. The researcher becomes involved in the process of collaboration, of "mutual story-telling and re-storying as the research proceeds...a relationship in which both stories are heard" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p.4). This relationship creates a setting in which the researcher becomes an inextricable part. Such an approach is similar to other contexts where the other research participants relate their story, for example at a lecture or in a *wharenui* (meeting house), for they have made decisions and selections regarding what and how it will be told, according to who is the listener. What is their culture? What is their status? What is their age? What is their *kaupapa* (agenda)? What parts of the story will be

important to them? What parts will be safe to tell them? The restorying can then proceed on this basis once the relationships involved have been identified and acknowledged.

This consideration reinforces how the personal element is inextricably involved in the research process. Inextricably involved in the sense that Oakley (1981) identifies where "personal involvement is more than dangerous bias, it is the condition under which people come to know each other and admit others into their lives" (p.58). In many types of positivistic research personal involvement is denied, and measures to control, minimise or eliminate personal individualism are instituted. In much qualitative research, the subjectivity of the researcher is acknowledged and attempts are made to acknowledge and reduce the distance between the researcher and the researched (Troyna, 1992; Lather, 1991; Fonow & Cook, 1991), and so to control the effects of subjectivity. However, the crucial consideration is that the person of the researcher influences the research relationship, no matter what actions they perform, just as "who has come" determines the quality and effectiveness of the powhiri. In this sense, there is no distance between the researcher and researched because distance is a construct created by researchers, who then constitute discursive practices to account and deal with distance, whether it be in terms of objectivity or subjectivity. Indeed, rather than researchers being able to determine 'distance' or the degree of their involvement, the use of Māori metaphors repositions researchers within Māori sense-making contexts.

Instead of addressing distance, Heshusius (1994) suggests that researchers need to acknowledge their participation and attempt to develop a "participatory consciousness". This means becoming involved in a "somatic, non-verbal quality of attention that necessitates letting go of the focus of self" (p.15). Such a position stands in contrast to those who escape into objectivism, "that pathology of cognition that entails silence about the speaker, about (their) interests and (their) desires, and how these are socially situated and structurally maintained" (Gouldner, 1976, in Tripp, 1983). Similarly, Heshusius (1994) questions what we, as researchers, do after being confronted with 'subjectivities'. "Does one evaluate them and try to manage and to restrain them? And then believe one has the research process once again under control?" (p.15). Both these positions address "meaningful" epistemological and methodological questions of the researcher's own choosing. Instead, Heshusius suggests researchers need to address those questions that would address moral issues, such as "what kind of society do we have or are we constructing?" (p.20). For example, how can racism be addressed unless those who perpetuate it become aware through a participatory consciousness of the lived reality of those who suffer? How can the researcher become aware of the meaning of Māori schooling experiences if they perpetuate an artificial "distance" and objectify the "subject", dealing with issues in a manner that is of interest to the researcher, rather than of concern to the subject? The message is that you have to 'live' the context in which it happens.

In this sense, participating in the construction of the research account acknowledges what Connelly and Clandinin (1990) suggest as when "the two narratives of participant and researcher become, in part, a shared narrative construction and reconstruction through inquiry" (p.4). This narrative will be specific to the research participants, idiosyncratic, culturally specific to the degree of cultural consciousness of the participants and non-generalisable beyond the context of the participants. To involve another person in the process, either as a reader or as a listener, is to alter the interaction, for the next person will not see the stories as the original people do. Instead, additional people will bring themselves into a process of reconstruction of the narrative (getting on board the waka) in order to address questions and raise issues that are of concern to them.

Further, rather than there being distinct stages in a research project, of 'gaining access', data gathering' to data processing' to 'theorising', in this approach the image of a spiral, a koru (an opening fern frond) is presented as one that describes the process of continually revisiting the kaupapa (agenda) of the research. As Heshusius (1994) suggests, this is a process where "reality is no longer to be understood as truth to be interpreted, but as mutually evolving" (p.18). From the very first meeting, total involvement by both researcher and participant is developed. Decisions about access, description, involvement, initiation, interpretation and explanations are embedded in the very process of story telling and retelling where "*interviews* are conducted between researcher and participant, transcripts are made, the meetings are made available for further discussion, and they become part of the ongoing narrative record" (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990, p. 5).³⁴ We believe that this process which describes an ongoing symmetrical relationship between researchers and participants is very applicable to the ongoing relationship between teachers and learners in classrooms. We intend extending this metaphor in chapter five.

³⁴ Students whose parents are recent migrants from islands in the South Pacific. Most of these students are Polynesian people, like New Zealand Māori.

Appendix A: References

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Appendix B

Te Kōtahitanga. The experiences of Year 9 and 10 Māori students in mainstream classrooms. Extract of Narrative from Non-engaged Students, School Two.

THE NARRATIVE EXTRACT

We began the first of the interviews that were used to construct the detailed narrative of experience by explaining the project to the students and the purposes of this study. We then suggested that a good way to get started was to do a quick list of things that affected their progress at school. Given the opening remarks following our mihimihi (greetings) and karakia (a ritual to clear the way) it appeared that they firstly wanted to talk about the things that hold them back at school. We then developed a quick list of the things that help them at school. We explained that we would then go back and discuss them in turn or as they wished to proceed.

The things that hold you back from doing well at school?

Stink teachers.

Mates.

Yourself.

Drugs and stuff.

Alcohol and cigarettes.

Sometimes the rules.

How they teach.

Not wanting to get into trouble cause you didn't do your homework.

Can't understand the work.

What helps you get on well at school?

Mates (general laughter).

Sometimes teachers as well – encouraging you.

Learning new things.

Parents; like parents make you come to school.

Activities.

Sometimes your boyfriends or your girlfriends.

TEACHER-STUDENT INTERACTIONS

Following this brainstorming exercise we introduced the idea that we also wanted to talk to them about what they considered to be good teaching. This immediately drew a response from one student who suggested that a good teacher was *someone who doesn't go too fast*.

This lead to a general discussion amongst the group about the problems of keeping up with the pace of lessons. They acknowledged that they took time off school and this caused them problems, but overall these problems fed on each other because if you couldn't keep up, *you just don't want to go there*

There did not seem to be any way out of this problem either because *he goes too fast, you tell him to slow down and he goes even faster.*

In fact, one student suggested that *he takes it as a put down,*

By which he meant that;

Its like, when you say, 'oh please slow down.' He'll say 'no I wont slow down' or something like that. He goes, 'everybody else can hear it and if you can't then it's your fault', or something like that. Well actually, mostly all of our class tells him to slow down. Like we do five pages, and he talks half way through these pages and in the next 5 pages he changes. He changes the subject all the time.

The students indicated that they became frustrated, upset and even angry in this situation.

Cause he says these big as words we don't even know.

And he expects us to do it, and when we ask for help he says...

Cause we had this line up on the board about commitment and all that

And if you annoy him you have to write that 50 times. Or if you didn't bring a note when you were away – then he makes us write it out, but we don't miss class time because we take it home and do it with our homework.

We returned to the student who had raised the concern about the use of the big words in the classroom. We asked her if she would ever complain about this and she was emphatic that she would never say that because she did not want to say that sort of thing in class. You give up, you say 'well I am not going to work', and then you get into trouble.

We suggested that the root problem she was facing was not that she was naughty but rather that she could not understand the big words. She agreed and emphasised that *They're too big...its just blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah*

So what do you do? I just draw pictures and pretend I am writing.

We asked if this was the experience of others in the group. They responded quickly,

Yeah, me once.

A couple of times.

"Stop talking" – 'it wasn't me'

Already today? Yeah.

One student suggested that this made him feel lower than other people.

Well like [it feels like], you are meant to feel dumb, because other people can do it, but you can't, and then you feel dumb, oh like, not as smart as them. But you know you're not dumb. But you feel you are not as smart as them, so they make you feel dumb.

Another student upon hearing these comments said that teachers were always putting him down also.

Yeah – when the reliever comes and they call they roll, and they say 'P' and I go 'yeah' and they say 'oh, so you're the kid that the teacher doesn't like'. Something mean like that.

This comment caused the group to raise their voices with other examples of students who get picked on. They mentioned one fellow and said 'everyone picks on him'.

Cause he has got a big mouth.

And he's smart.

But he's a Māori too

But when he settles down, everyone still gets on to him, I feel sorry for him. If someone is making a noise they turn straight to him even though he's quiet.

We suggested to them that some people might say that it is because you are naughty, to start with. One student suggested that this may well be the case;

Well yeah, sometimes, but sometimes it's mates and this can affect the teachers as well.

This indicated to us that these students were being very fair in their analysis of the interactions between them and the teachers and despite the openness of the interview, where they could have blamed their teachers for everything, they strove to build up a picture that reflected their understanding of the complexity of classroom interactions, even if this did involve their acknowledging their own partial culpability. We continued to probe how they felt in the classroom when they could not understand the language being used. They gave us examples from their Maths classes where they did not know what was happening at all. We asked them how this made them feel.

Ashamed

Frustrated

Dumb; it makes you feel dumb.

We then took a risk and said.

“This is a very important question, I am not being rude about this, but are you dumb?”

No!

No! Just lost!

Oh sometimes!

In fact, they all talked this idea over and suggested that we are all a bit dumb sometimes but the problem was when it happened all the time.

“That’s very clear, thank you’ that’s good. Put it this way, here is another question for everybody. Do you want to get on at school?”

Yes (general agreement all round)

Get a job –

Get a job!

Cool job, rich, lots of money.

Everybody wants to get a good job with plenty of money.

*Good job, that I can just go to – like ‘look there is the *** from around the corner. And here I am working!’*

You’re telling us that you do want to get a job when you leave school? You want to succeed at school? So you are here to get on with school? (Much nodding in agreement).

EFFECTIVE TEACHING

Later in the sequence of interviews, we returned to the topic of effective teaching and asked the students, “If you were able to coach a teacher so that what the teacher did meant you could get on at school, what would you say to the teacher?” There was an immediate and enthusiastic response.

Don’t yell at kids. Don’t start thinking about what you are going to teach us when we walk in the room. Get prepared. Don’t go looking for little things like whether we’ve got the right uniform on or not. That’s not your job, that’s Dean stuff. Have a smile on your face. Look pleased to see us. Treat us respectfully. Look like you want to be here. Say ‘hi’ to us as we come in. Have a joke with us. Don’t bawl us out. If you don’t like something we’re doing, tell us quietly. Talk to us about where we sit. Give us a chance to sit with our mates. If we muck up then warn us and if we are too thick to listen [to the warning] then move us. Just ‘cause we’re a C class don’t expect us to be dumb. We might be there because we were naughty at Intermediate. Don’t have us writing all the time and being quiet. Let us talk quietly to each other about what we’re doing. We know we have to be quiet sometimes-like tests. Give us fun things to do like quizzes in groups, discussions, debates, art activities, practical maths, solving problems in groups with things like Lego. We won’t knick it if you don’t think we will. Expect us to do well and

to be good. Don't rave on about how you don't want to be here. Don't put us down and don't let us put our friends down. Be fair. Bribe us sometimes. Be keen about your subject so we want to come. Loosen up. We are all on the same planet. Let us cooperate about the work. Yeah we have good ideas, good, sensible ideas about how to do things. Just ask us. Mark our work often. Tell us when we're doing good. Better still, tell our family.

At this point there was quite a discussion about stickers that teachers put in books that said things like “kia kaha, rawe, ka pai (keep going, well done, good work).” A couple of the boys initially declared they were too old for stickers. However, the student who had brought the topic up was quite persuasive.

Maybe we are too old but at least when the teacher goes to the trouble of putting a sticker in your book you know they appreciate your hard work. It's good to show Mum. She knows then that I'm working okay.

One of the boys who had said he was too old decided perhaps it wasn't a bad idea because it did increase the quality of the teachers feedback and their accountability.

*When they just tick a page you know they probably haven't read it. They've just gone, tick, tick, tick. The teacher would look pretty stupid if they put on a sticker saying “ka pai” and it was all ***! At least we'd know they read our work [nods of assent].*

It was quite clear from their body language that stickers could actually be a very positive experience for them in spite of their being 14 or 15 years old. They continued their advice to the teacher.

Give us useful homework so that we want to do it.

Slow down in class when things are hard.

Answer our questions or tell us how we can work things out.

Give us a break sometimes.

Our general discussion about teachers and homework went on for some time. Some examples were cited of how teachers fed what the students felt was incorrect information about them and their work home to their parents. Other examples focused on the differences between the students, parents and the teachers. They also reported that tension between teachers sometimes spilled over into comments made in their classrooms.

In all, the students suggested there was a great deal of tension in the air, and this degree of tension certainly did not help them make the progress at school they would like to be making. As one student said, *I know there is one teacher that I would like to wave goodbye to. Bye* (laughter).

We asked them to identify how many teachers they have in a day and to tell us which of these they had feelings of tension with. They told us they had five teachers each day of whom two or three

(depending on the individual student) would be the type of teacher they describe as their having a tense relationship with.

In a subsequent interview we asked the students to return to this issue of the tension between themselves and several of their teachers... *Can you give us more details about this tension?*”

Well it's like this. First of all most of the teachers don't like teaching the dumb streams. (tracks) They tell us they'd rather not be here. The worst teachers always teach the same way. Heaps of writing just to keep us going. I reckon they're scared of us. All the 'goodie two shoes' sit up the front so they don't have to come near us, [The teachers] just teach them. I reckon they can't control us and they can't control us because they don't prepare interesting stuff for us to do. Most of them don't either get out of their seat or they always stand near the kids who work. Yeah the problem is they have expected most of us to be pains since our first day in the class. So we... oblige [raucous laughter].

Are you saying that you'd behave in class if the work was different?

Like we said in our coaching list. They have gotta want to be with us and they have gotta be enthusiastic and they've gotta be not boring and they've gotta talk with us about the stuff in the lesson-like what we already know or how we might have a go at things. All the stuff in the coaching talk.

FRIENDS

The conversation returned to the vexatious issue of friends and their influence on students learning.

It's your friends that make you not get on at school.

Yeah they like talk to you and you can't concentrate on the work.

Sometimes they help you too.

Yeah, 'do the class; else you will get into trouble', 'okay then'

Sometimes, 'come on wake up. You are doing good in the class' – 'oh okay then'.

What do you say?

They are offering you things.

Oh – some like, your friends in your class, sometime if you don't understand, they will help you out and put it in your words and then you'll understand it. So that's how if you get a friend like that and they understand it, they can just tell you and you can get to work.

And good teachers allow the friend to help you? Sometimes?

Sometimes but not in tests.

BEING MĀORI IN A MULTI-CULTURAL SCHOOL

Throughout the interviews we emphasized that we wanted to talk to them about their experiences as Māori students. They did not feel it was necessary to make this explicit because they were all Māori, but eventually they relented and said the easiest way to inform us of what it was like to be a young Māori student at this school was to come outside with them to take part in an experiment. To conduct this experiment two of the group invited the researcher down to the field. There we sat on a seat and shared some doughnuts. While we sat, the boys were on the lookout for the duty teacher. On the field in front of us were groups of Māori, non-Māori and Pacific Island students.ⁱ Some students of each group were obviously smoking cigarettes, as smoke could be seen rising from each of the circles.

Watch the teacher Miss.

A teacher appeared from the buildings, obviously on duty for the first half of the lunch hour. The teacher stopped for a moment, surveyed the three groups and then headed for the Māori group.

See!

We watched a while and it was clear that although smoke was rising from all the groups, only the Māori were targeted. We waited some more. Half way through lunchtime there was a change of duty teacher and again the Māori group and then the Pacific Island group were spoken to. This teacher walked straight past a non-Māori group from which smoke was rising.

See!

FAMILY INFLUENCES.

“Now what about family? How much does your family impact on how well you learn?” A small group were concerned that because their parents have troubled memories of their own schooling, they are frightened for their children. As a result,

they believe the teachers. Like they think they are adults, and they know everything. ‘Cause we are teenagers and all that puberty stuff. They say, “don’t turn out like us, we’re not good,” and you look at them and like – yeah I want to be like you though. And they’re like, “no don’t turn out like us – stay at school.” And like if you have older brothers they always compare you and say, “don’t turn out like your brother.” Or they go, “why cant you like be her. Why can’t you do that? ‘Cause I’m not her. ‘Cause I am myself.

On the other hand some parents were supportive of their children’s resistance to the power imbalances at the school.

My Mum just says – “don’t take no shit from no-one. If you want to be like me, well here’s your chance.” She just makes a joke of it, and I go “you’re a funny one” and she goes – “yeah I am cool” (general laughter.) And I got mum, “I am going to go to school now” and she goes, “no you’re staying home. No just kidding. Off to school.” Yeah, she helps me.

To one girl we said, “You were saying you were hardly every home, so who helps you keep coming to school?”

Oh, mainly myself, cause if I want to go to school. I’ll go to school and if I don’t want to go to school, I can stay home. My parents are really cool, but I just come to school because I dunno, work, mates, teachers. And if you have got some fun coming up or something, Yeah I’m going to school. Yeah, yeah.

No one spoke about the school and their parents together supporting their education or supporting one another.

RELATIONSHIPS

The final conversation we had with this group of articulate, interested and intelligent young people was about the qualities of a caring environment. We stumbled onto this exchange by asking one young student if she had had positive experiences at school.

No – because I don’t want to come to school, but I have to.

She said that her family made her come to school, but that she did not want to come to school.

I hate school. We’re just going to get kicked out anyway –

We’re on our last chance

See- we have been suspended twice this year.

We were suspended for smoking drugs.

They went into my bag and found the dak. (marijuana)

Yeah

Yeah, our teacher caught us laughing and they know you are stoned.

In our class we were mocking this fellow, ‘cause he was mopping the floor like Cinderella. They had to go down to where they cleaned and stamped their mud everywhere and they go – just laughed, and she told us to get away. And she took us to the office.

So you are going to get booted out pretty soon, the next thing that happens wrong – you are out the door.

Yeah, but I don’t care.

A long conversation ensued about smoking dak and cigarettes and other related matters. The voices of the two girls who were facing suspension if they were caught with dak once more was heard loudly through this discussion, mainly featuring their strident admonitions that they did not care if this was to happen to them.

After listening to this for some time and reflecting upon what they had told us earlier about some teachers not caring about them we asked them, “ *If you felt that all these teachers cared about you, absolutely you, individually, would that solve the problem? Would you want to stay here?*” They all said in unison,

Yes!

They made some suggestions as to the qualities of these teachers that we then summarised by saying, “*You mean teachers who care about you, that are fun and who get you involved and who teach you, that want you to succeed and that you know want you to succeed, would you then come to school?*”

Yes!
